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VOL. XVII.

GREAT EVENTS,

DESCRIBED BY

DISTINGUISHED HISTORIANS, CHRONICLERS, AND OTHER WRITERS.

COLLECTED AND IN PART TRANSLATED BY

FRANCIS LIEBER.

BOSTON:
MARSH, CAPEN, LYON, AND WEBB.
1840.

This Volume is sanctioned, by the Board of Education of the State of Massachusetts, as one of the Series, entitled, 'The School Library,' published by Marsh, Capen, Lyon, and Webb.

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EDUCATION PRESS.

TO MY WIFE:

THE BEST MOTHER I KNOW.

PREFACE.

The Compiler of this Volume has long been convinced, that one of the most effective means of forming a strong character, awakening generous impulses, and invigorating the mind for future action, is, to encourage an early familiarity with great events, and with those prominent men, whose bold deeds or persevering exertions were crowned with lasting effects, or whose loftiness of purpose renders them inspiring examples. He had, accordingly, made out a list of passages, in which, distinguished historians, eyewitnesses, or other writers of merit, have described events of historical moment and of thrilling interest. The striking forms and characteristic images of such narratives address themselves directly to the minds of the young, and the impression of a distinct picture is left by them, as the conception of a master artist is embodied upon his canvass.

This compilation was originally intended to serve him in instructing his own son. When he was invited, therefore, to contribute to the series of publications, of which this Volume is intended to form a part, he thought that some of the extracts, selected for his own household use, and therefore with at least a parental solicitude, might possibly prove adapted to the improvement of the rising generation at large. With this feeling, he offers the following passages; each of which he has prefaced with a few remarks, calculated, in some instances, as will at once be perceived, to suggest ideas

rather to the parent or teacher, the guides of the young reader, than directly to the latter.

Although the Work is intended chiefly for the young, the Compiler feels convinced, that several of the extracts will be found new and instructive, by readers more advanced in years. To the young, this Book is offered as a part of that great moral capital, which successive generations store up in history, as a nation collects a public capital, by adding the results of industry to the previous stock, in the employment of which these new values were obtained. To parents, it is offered as some of the most nutritious food which they can furnish to those who are intrusted to their care. A detailed acquaintance with momentous actions is far more important to the young, and indeed to every one, than is the mere knowledge of some moral truth. For a familiar acquaintance with lofty characters, or with those extraordinary occurrences, in which the greatness of man's sufferings or enjoyment, and the extent of his losses or victories, banish trifling interests and vulgar motives, gives that, without which, high principles, however well known, will rarely be acted upon ; I mean, tone of character and nobleness of soul ; a *sense*, as well as a *knowledge*, of those principles. An early and familiar knowledge of great events fills the soul with noble images. It exalts the mind, and imbues it with respect for that which is great, good, elevated, and glorious. It represses forward ignorance and encourages worthy ambition. It tends to foster both a true self-respect and a dutiful sense of what our ancestors have done for us.

Columbia, S. C., 1840.

The Glossary and Index have been added by the Publishers, in conformity with the original plan for all works forming a part of 'The School Library.'

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GREAT EVENTS.

THE BATTLE AT THERMOPYLÆ.

BY HERODOTUS.

Herodotus, a contemporary of Pericles and Phidias, who flourished about four hundred and fifty years before Christ, was born at Halicarnassus, in Asia Minor. His native place being ruled over by the usurper Lygdamis, he left it, and went to Samos, where he probably acquired the melodious Ionic dialect, in which his history is composed; the stern Doric dialect being that of the place of his birth. The great times in which he lived, and the glorious deeds which had been performed by the generation preceding his own, together with the perusal of previous historians, awakened in him, at an early period, the desire to describe these deeds, and to travel into foreign countries, and inquire into the various institutions and manners of the different tribes. When the eighty-first Olympiad* was celebrated, by the Olympic games, Herodotus read portions of his history to the immense assemblage of people, called together by this national feast. The universal applause, with which his compositions were received, incited him to employ many successive years to extend and perfect his work. Ancient writers mention a tradition, that Thucydides, when a youth of sixteen years of age, while listening to Herodotus, as he was thus reading parts of his work, was so much affected by this noble performance, that he shed tears; a tradition, which, it is proper to mention, has been doubted by many recent critics. Hero-

* The Greeks reckoned by Olympiads, or periods of four years each, at which periods, the Olympic games were celebrated. See *Glossary*, at the end of the Volume.

dotus has been called, by the ancients, the 'Father of History,' because he was the first who presented his work, not merely as a series of events, strung together like beads, but as a connected whole, composed with taste, and the pervading judgement of one who remains master over the whole subject. Herodotus took much pains, to ascertain facts and acquire information ; and, in so far as we inquire only, whether he conscientiously gave what he had learnt, he unquestionably deserves the character of great veracity. Historical criticism, however, began with Thucydides. Although Herodotus has, at times, related superficial impressions, or may, at others, have allowed himself to be imposed upon, (as, for instance, in Egypt,) his work, which unites, with the childlike simplicity of the historical parts of the Old Testament, an Homeric grace, is, nevertheless, a fund of invaluable information. Respecting the Persian wars, we must not forget, that he wrote very shortly after ; and, very evidently, was at great pains to learn all the details, which it was in his power to collect. He died at a very advanced age.

Conquest after conquest having been added to the vast empire of Persia, its ruler longed to extend his dominion over Europe, also. A first attempt at subduing Greece had been made, in the year four hundred and ninety before Christ, when the Persians were repelled and defeated, at Marathon, a hamlet in Attica, (whither the Greeks had already advanced,) by the Athenians, and some allies, under Miltiades. Aristides fought, likewise, in this battle ; so did Æschylus. Ten years later, the attempt to reduce Greece into a Persian satrapy, (or province,) was renewed by Xerxes, then King of Persia. But the heroic sacrifice of Leonidas, at Thermopylæ, and the victories at Salamis and Platææ once more repelled the swarming hordes of Asia, and in a manner, that the attempt at conquest was never repeated. It is impossible for us fully to comprehend the unspeakable blessings, which we owe to these heroic exertions of the Greeks. When we consider, that our whole civilization is, in a great measure, but a fruit of Greek civilization, received through Rome, and, at a later period, again, through the scattering of the literary treasures of Greece over Europe, by the conquest of Constantinople ;—and, on the other hand, how all this civilization must have been nipped in the bud, had Greece become a Persian province, and, of course, been assimilated to

Asia, as has been the case with Asia Minor,—we can perceive only, that no individual mind is sufficiently capacious to follow out the darkness and torpor which, it would seem certain, must have prevailed, where now the greatest mental activity, the highest degree of civilization, exists. Nor is the battle at Thermopylæ, fought on the ninth of July, four hundred and eighty years before Christ, an unessential link in this chain of great events ; because all, who fought, fell, and the enemy would not be hindered from penetrating further into Greece. The example of Leonidas, and his devoted band, became a glorious example of the invincible power, which the love of country and liberty may impart to the human soul ; it became a blessing and bequest to all Greece, then, and at later periods ; and, through Greece, a bequest to the history of mankind, a thrilling example for all ages : for which reason, it has been considered proper to select it for this place. The following extract is from the seventh book of Herodotus, called Polymnia.

Xerxes, with his land forces, marching through Thessaly and Achaia, came, on the third day, to the territories of the Melians. While he was in Thessaly, he made a trial of his cavalry, against those of the Thessalians, which he had heard were the best in Greece ; but, in this contest, the inferiority of the Greeks was evidently conspicuous. The Onochonus was the only river in Thessaly, which did not afford sufficient water for the army. Of those of Achaia, the Apidanus, the greatest of them all, hardly sufficed.

Hence, Xerxes advanced to Melis, near a bay of the sea, where the ebbing and flowing of the tide may be seen every day. Near this bay is an extensive plain, wide in one part, and contracted in another ; round this plain are certain lofty and inaccessible mountains, called the Trachinian rocks, and enclosing the whole region of Melis. Leaving Achaia, the first city near this bay is Anticyra. This is washed by the river Sperchius ; which, rising in the country of the Enieni, here empties itself into the sea. At the distance of twenty furlongs, is another river, called Dyras, which is said to have risen,

spontaneously, from the earth, to succor Hercules, when he was burning. A third river, called Melas, flows at the distance of twenty furlongs more.

Within five furlongs of this last river, stands the town of Trachis. In this part, the country is the widest, extending from the mountains to the sea, and comprehending a space of twenty-two thousand plethra.* In the mountainous tract which encloses Trachinia, there is an opening, to the west of Trachis, through which, the Asopus winds round the base of the mountain.

To the west of this, another small stream is found, named the Phœnix; it rises in these mountains, and empties itself into the Asopus. The most contracted part of the country is that, which lies nearest the Phœnix, where the road will only admit one carriage to pass. From the Phœnix to Thermopylæ, are fifteen furlongs: between the Phœnix and Thermopylæ, is a village named Anthela; passing which, the Asopus meets the sea. The country contiguous to Anthela, is spacious. Here may be seen a temple of Ceres Amphictyonis, the seats of the Amphictyons, and a shrine of Amphictyon himself.

Xerxes encamped in Trachinia, at Melis; the Greeks, in the Straits. These Straits, the Greeks, in general, call Thermopylæ; the people of the country, Pylæ, only. Here, then, were the two armies stationed; Xerxes occupying all the northern region, as far as Trachinia, the Greeks, that of the south.

The Grecian army, which here waited the approach of the Persian, was composed of three hundred Spartans, in complete armor; five hundred Tegeatæ, and as many Mantineans; one hundred and twenty men from Orchomenus of Arcadia; a thousand men from the rest of Arcadia; four hundred Corinthians; two hundred from Phlius; and eighty from Mycenæ. The above came from the Peloponnesus. From Bœotia, there were seven hundred Thespians, and four hundred Thebans.

In addition to the above, the aid of all the Opuntian Locrians had been solicited, together with a thousand

* A *plethron* is one hundred feet.

Phoceans. To obtain the assistance of these, the Greeks had previously sent emissaries among them ; saying, that they were the forerunners only of another, and more numerous body, whose arrival was every day expected. They added, that the defence of the sea was confided to the people of Athens and Ægina, in conjunction with the rest of the fleet ; that there was no occasion for alarm, as the invader of Greece was not a god, but a mere human being ; that there never was, nor could be, any mortal superior to the vicissitudes of fortune ; that the most exalted characters were exposed to the greatest evils. He, therefore, a mortal, now advancing to attack them, would suffer for his temerity. These arguments proved effectual, and they accordingly marched to Trachis, to join their allies.

These troops were commanded by different officers, of their respective countries ; but the man, most regarded, and who was intrusted with the chief command, was Leonidas, of Sparta. His ancestors were Anaxandrides, Leon, Eurycratides, Anaxander, Eurycrates, Polydorus, Alcamenes, Teleclus, Archelaus, Agesilaus, Doryssus, Leobotes, Echestratus, Agis, Eurysthenes, Aristodemus, Aristomachus, Cleodæus, Hyllus, and Hercules.

An accident had placed him on the throne of Sparta, for, as he had two brothers, older than himself, Cleomenes and Dorieus, he had entertained no thoughts of the government ; but Cleomenes dying without male issue, and Dorieus not surviving, (for he ended his days in Sicily,) the crown came to Leonidas, who was older than Cleombrotus, the youngest of the sons of Anaxandrides, and who had married the daughter of Cleomenes. On the present occasion, he took with him, to Thermopylæ, a body of three hundred chosen men, all of whom had children. To these, he added those Theban troops, whose number I have before mentioned, and who were conducted by Leontiades, son of Eurymachus. Leonidas had selected the Thebans to accompany him, because a suspicion generally prevailed, that they were secretly attached to the Medes. These, therefore, he summoned to attend him, to ascertain whether they would actually

contribute their aid, or openly withdraw themselves from the Grecian league. With sentiments perfectly hostile, they nevertheless sent the assistance required.

The march of this body, under Leonidas, was accelerated by the Spartans, that their example might stimulate their allies to action, and that they might not make their delay a pretence for going over to the Medes. The celebration of the Carnian festival* protracted the march of their main body ; but it was their intention to follow, with all imaginable expedition, leaving only a small detachment for the defence of Sparta. The rest of the allies were actuated by similar motives ; for the Olympic games happened to recur at this period ; and, as they did not expect an engagement would immediately take place, at Thermopylæ, they sent only a detachment before them.

Such were the motives of the confederate body. The Greeks, who were already assembled at Thermopylæ, were seized with so much terror, on the approach of the Persian, that they consulted about a retreat. Those of the Peloponnesus were, in general, of opinion, that they should return, and guard the isthmus ; but, as the Phocæans and Locrians were exceedingly averse to this measure, Leonidas prevailed on them to continue on their post. He resolved, however, to send messengers round to all the States, requiring supplies, stating that their number was much too small, to oppose the Medes with any effect.

While they thus deliberated, Xerxes sent a horseman, to examine their number and their motions. He had before heard, in Thessaly, that a small band was collected at this passage ; that they were led by Lacedæmonians, and by Leonidas, of the race of Hercules. The person employed performed his duty : all those, who were without the intrenchment, he was able to reconnoiter ; those who were within, for the purpose of defending it, eluded his observation. The Lacedæmonians were, at that pe-

* A festival celebrated at Sparta, in honor of Apollo, the heathen god of the fine arts, of medicine, poetry, music, and eloquence. This festival lasted seven days. It was so called, from *Carneus*, one of the names of Apollo.

riod, stationed without; of these, some were performing gymnastic exercises, while others were employed in combing their hair. He was greatly astonished; but he leisurely surveyed their number and employments, and returned, without molestation, for they despised him too much to pursue him. He related to Xerxes all that he had seen.

Xerxes, on hearing the above, was little aware of what was really the case; that this people were preparing themselves, either to conquer or to die. The thing appeared to him so ridiculous, that he sent for Demaratus,* the son of Ariston, who was then with the army. On his appearing, the King questioned him, on this behavior of the Spartans, expressing his desire to know what it might intimate. "I have before, sir," said Demaratus, "spoken to you of this people, at the commencement of this expedition; and, as I remember, when I related to you what I knew you would have occasion to observe, you treated me with contempt. I am conscious of the danger of declaring the truth, in opposition to your prejudices; but I will, nevertheless, do this. It is the determination of these men to dispute with us, and they are preparing themselves, accordingly. It is their custom, before any enterprise of danger, to adorn their hair. Of this, you may be assured, that, if you vanquish these and their countrymen in Sparta, no other nation will presume to take up arms against you; you are now advancing to attack a people whose realms and city are the fairest, and whose troops are the bravest, of Greece." These words seemed to Xerxes preposterous enough; but he demanded, a second time, how so small a number could contend with his army. "Sir," said he, "I will submit to suffer the punishment of falsehood, if what I say does not happen."

Xerxes was still incredulous: he accordingly kept his position, without any movement, for four days, in expectation of seeing them retreat. On the fifth day, observing that they continued on their post, merely, as he supposed,

* *Demaratus* had been king of Sparta, but, having been deposed from that dignity, had joined Xerxes.

from the most impudent rashness, he became much exasperated, and sent against them a detachment of Medes and Cissians, with a command to bring them alive to his presence. The Medes, in consequence, attacked them, and lost a considerable number. A re-enforcement arrived; but, though the onset was severe, no impression was made. It now became universally conspicuous, and no less so to the King himself, that he had many troops, but few men. The above engagement continued all day.

The Medes, after being very roughly treated, retired, and were succeeded by the band of Persians, called, by the King, 'the immortal,' and commanded by Hydarnes. These, it was supposed, would succeed, without the smallest difficulty. They commenced the attack, but made no greater impression than the Medes; their superior numbers were of no advantage, on account of the narrowness of the place; and their spears, also, were shorter than those of the Greeks. The Lacedæmonians fought in a manner, which deserves to be recorded; their own excellent discipline, and the unskilfulness of their adversaries, were, in many instances, remarkable; and not the least so, when, in close ranks, they effected a retreat. The Barbarians,* seeing them retire, pursued them, with a great and clamorous shout; but, on their near approach, the Greeks faced about to receive them. The loss of the Persians was prodigious, and a few also of the Spartans fell. The Persians, after successive efforts, made with great bodies of their troops, to gain the pass, were unable to accomplish it, and obliged to retire.

It is said of Xerxes, himself, that, being a spectator of the contest, he was so greatly alarmed, for the safety of his men, that he leaped thrice from his throne. On the following day, the Barbarians succeeded no better than before. They went to the onset, as against a contemptible number, whose wounds, they supposed, would hardly permit them to renew the combat: but the Greeks, drawn up in regular divisions, fought, each nation on its respective post, except the Phoceans, who were station-

* The Greeks called the inhabitants of foreign nations, *Barbarians.*

ed on the summit of the mountain, to defend the pass. The Persians, experiencing a repetition of the same treatment, a second time retired.

While the King was exceedingly perplexed, what conduct to pursue, in the present emergence, Ephialtes, the son of Eurydemus, a Melian,* demanded an audience. He expected to receive some great recompense, for showing him the path, which led over the mountain to Thermopylæ ; and he, indeed, it was, who thus rendered ineffectual the valor of those Greeks, who perished on this station. This man, through fear of the Lacedæmonians, fled, afterwards, into Thessaly ; but the Pylagoræ, calling a council of the Amphictyons, at Pylæa, for this express purpose, set a price on his head, and he was afterward slain by Athenades, a Trachinian, at Anticyra, to which place he had returned. Athenades was induced to put him to death, for some other reason, which I shall afterwards explain ; he nevertheless received the reward offered by the Lacedæmonians. This, however, was the end of Ephialtes.

On this subject, there is also a different report ; for it is said, that Onetes, son of Phanagoras, a Carystian, and Corydalus, of Anticyra, were the men who informed the King of this path, and conducted the Persians round the mountain. This, with me, obtains no credit ; for, nothing is better known, than that the Pylagoræ did not set a price on the heads of Onetes or Corydalus, but on that of Ephialtes, the Trachinian, after, as may be presumed, a due investigation of the matter. It is also certain, that Ephialtes, conscious of his crime, endeavored to save himself by flight. Onetes, being a Melian, might, perhaps, if tolerably acquainted with the country, have known this passage ; but Ephialtes was the man, who showed the path over the mountain, and him I write down as the wicked one.

The intelligence of Ephialtes, gave the King infinite satisfaction, and he instantly detached Hydarnes, with the forces under his command, to avail himself of it. They

* *Ephialtes* is, in the next paragraph, called a Trachinian. Trachinia was a part of Melis.

left the camp at the first approach of evening. The Melians, the natives of the country, discovered this path, and by it conducted the Thessalians against the Phoceans, who had defended it by an intrenchment, and deemed themselves secure. It had never, however, proved of any advantage to the Melians.

The path, of which we are speaking, commences at the river Asopus. This stream flows through an aperture of the mountain, called Anopæ, which is also the name of the path. This is continued, through the whole length of the mountain, and terminates near the town of Alpenus. This is the first city of the Locrians, on the side next the Melians, near the rock called Melampygus, by the residence of the Cercopes.* It is narrowest at this point.

Following this track, which I have described, the Persians passed the Asopus, and marched all night, keeping the Œtean mountains on the right, and the Trachinian on the left. At the dawn of morning, they found themselves at the summit, where, as I have before described, a band of a thousand Phoceans, in arms, were stationed, both to defend their own country and this pass. The passage, beneath, was defended by those whom I have mentioned. Of this, above, the Phoceans had voluntarily promised Leonidas, to undertake the charge.

The approach of the Persians was discovered to the Phoceans, in this manner. While they were ascending the mountain, they were totally concealed by the thick groves of oak ; but, from the stillness of the air, they were discovered, by the noise they made by trampling on the leaves ; a thing which might naturally happen. The Phoceans ran to arms ; and, in a moment, the Barbarians appeared, who, seeing a number of men, precipitately arming themselves, were at first struck with astonishment. They did not expect an adversary, and they had fallen in among armed troops. Hydarnes, apprehending that the Phoceans might prove to be Lacedæmonians, inquired of Ephialtes who they were. When he was

* These people were robbers.

informed, he drew up the Persians in order of battle. The Phoceans, not able to sustain the heavy flight of arrows, retreated up the mountain, imagining themselves the objects of this attack, and expecting certain destruction. But the troops with Hydarnes and Ephialtes did not think it worth their while to pursue them, and descended rapidly the opposite side of the mountain.

To those Greeks stationed in the Straits of Thermopylæ, Megistias, the soothsayer, had previously, from inspection of the entrails,* predicted that death awaited them in the morning. Some deserters had also informed them of the circuit the Persians had taken; and this intelligence was, in the course of the night, circulated through the camp. All this was confirmed by their sentinels, who, early in the morning, fled down the sides of the mountain. In this predicament, the Greeks called a council, who were greatly divided in their opinions. Some were for remaining on their stations, others advised a retreat. In consequence of their not agreeing, many of them dispersed to their respective cities; a part resolved to continue with Leonidas.

It is said, that those who retired, only did so in compliance with the wishes of Leonidas, who was desirous to preserve them: but he thought that he, himself, with his Spartans, could not, without the greatest ignominy, forsake the post they had come to defend. I am myself inclined to believe, that Leonidas, seeing his allies not only reluctant, but totally averse, to resist the danger which menaced them, consented to their retreat. His own return, he considered as dishonorable, while he was convinced, that his defending his post would equally secure his own fame, and the good of Sparta. In the very beginning of these disturbances, the Spartans, having consulted the oracle, were informed, that either their King must die, or Sparta be vanquished by the Barbarians. The oracle was communicated in hexameter verses, and was to this effect:

* The ancient heathens had several modes of divination, one of which was, by the entrails of animals killed for sacrifice.

"To you who dwell in Sparta's ample walls,
Behold, a dire alternative befalls;
Your glorious city must in ruins lie,
Or, slain by Persian arms, a king must die;
A king, descended from Herculean blood.
For, lo! he comes, and cannot be withstood;
Nor bulls nor lions can dispute the field,
'T is Jove's own force, and this or that must yield."

I am unwilling to presume of the allies that departed, that, differing in opinion from their leader, they dishonorably deserted. I should also suppose, that the conduct of Leonidas was the result of his revolving the oracle in his mind, and of his great desire to secure to the Spartans, alone, the glory of this memorable action.

To me, it is no small testimony of the truth of the above, that, among those whom Leonidas dismissed, was Megistias himself. He was of Acarnania, and, as some affirm, descended from Melampus. He accompanied Leonidas on this expedition, and, from the entrails, had predicted what would happen: he refused, however, to leave his friends, and satisfied himself with sending away his only son, who had followed his father on this occasion.

Obedient to the direction of their leader, the confederates retired. The Thespians and Thebans alone remained with the Spartans: the Thebans, indeed, very reluctantly; but they were detained by Leonidas, as hostages. The Thespians were very zealous in the cause, and, refusing to abandon their friends, perished with them. The leader of the Thespians was Demophilus, son of Diodromas.

Xerxes, early in the morning, offered a solemn libation, then, waiting till that period of the day, when the forum is fullest of people,* he advanced from his camp. To the above measure, he had been advised by Ephialtes. The descent from the mountain is of much shorter extent, than the circuitous ascent. The Barbarians, with Xerxes, approached. Leonidas and his Greeks proceeded, as to inevitable death, a much greater space from the defile than he had yet done. Till now, they had defended

* About nine o'clock in the morning.

themselves behind their intrenchment, fighting in the most contracted part of the passage; but, on this day, they engaged on a wider space, and a multitude of their opponents fell. Behind each troop, officers were stationed, with whips in their hands, compelling, with blows, their men to advance. Many of them fell into the sea, where they perished; many were trodden under foot by their own troops, without exciting the smallest pity or regard. The Greeks, conscious that their destruction was at hand, from those who had taken the circuit of the mountain, exerted themselves, with the most desperate valor, against the Barbarian assailants.

Their spears being broken in pieces, they had recourse to their swords. Leonidas fell in the engagement, having greatly signalized himself; and with him, many Spartans of distinction, as well as others, of inferior note. I am acquainted with the names of all the three hundred. Many illustrious Persians, also, were slain, among whom, were Abrocomes and Hyperanthes, sons of Darius, by Phrataguna, the daughter of Artanes. Artanes was the brother of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, and grandson of Arsamis. Having married his daughter to Darius, as she was an only child, all his wealth went with her.

These two brothers of Xerxes fell, as they were contending for the body of Leonidas. Here the conflict was the most severe; till, at length, the Greeks, by their superior valor, four times repelled the Persians, and drew aside the body of their prince. In this situation, they continued, till Ephialtes and his party approached. As soon as the Greeks perceived them at hand, the scene was changed, and they retreated to the narrowest part of the pass. Having repassed their intrenchment, they posted themselves, all except the Thebans, in a compact body, on a hill which is at the entrance of the Straits, and where a lion of stone* has been erected, in honor of Le-

* Two epigrams on this subject may be found in the Analecta Veterum Poet. Græc. vol. i. 132, vol. ii. 162. The bones of Leonidas were carried back to Sparta, by Pausanias, forty years after his death; they were placed in a monument, opposite the theatre. Every year they pronounced, in this place, a funeral oration, and celebrated games, at which Spartans only were suffered to contend.

onidas. In this situation, they who had swords left used them against the enemy ; the rest exerted themselves, with their hands and their teeth. The Barbarians rushing on them, some in front, after overturning their wall, others surrounding and pressing them in all directions, finally overpowered them.

Such was the conduct of the Lacedæmonians and Thespians ; but none of them distinguished themselves so much, as Dieneces the Spartan. A speech of his is recorded, which he made before they came to any engagement. A certain Trachinian, having observed, that the Barbarians would send forth such a shower of arrows, that their multitude would obscure the sun, he replied, like a man ignorant of fear, and despising the numbers of the Medes,—"Our Trachinian friend promises us great advantages : if the Medes obscure the sun's light, we shall fight with them in the shade, and be protected from the heat." Many other sayings have been handed down, as monuments of this man's fame.

Next to him, the most distinguished, of the Spartans, were, Alpheus and Maron, two brothers, the sons of Orsiphantus. Of the Thespians, the most conspicuous was Dithyrambus, son of Harmatidas.

All these were interred in the place, where they fell, together with such of the confederates as were slain before the separation of the forces by Leonidas. On their tomb, was this inscription :

> "Here, once, from Pelops' sea-girt region brought,
> Four thousand men three hostile millions fought."

This was applied to them all, collectively. The Spartans were thus distinguished :

> "Go, stranger, and to listening Spartans tell,
> That here, obedient to their laws, we fell."

There was one also appropriated to the prophet Megistias :

> "By Medes cut off, beside Sperchius' wave,
> The seer Megistias fills this glorious grave :
> Who stood, the fate he well foresaw, to meet,
> And, linked with Sparta's leaders, scorned retreat."

All these ornaments and inscriptions, that of Megistias

alone excepted, were here placed by the Amphictyons. Simonides, son of Leoprepis, inscribed the one to the honor of Megistias, from the ties of private hospitality.

Of these three hundred, there were two, named Eurytus and Aristodemus : both of them, consistently with the discipline of their country, might have secured themselves, by retiring to Sparta, for Leonidas had permitted them to leave the camp ; but they continued at Alpenus, being both afflicted by a violent disorder of the eyes ; or, if they had not thought proper to return home, they had the alternative of meeting death in the field with their fellow-soldiers. In this situation, they differed in opinion, what conduct to pursue. Eurytus, having heard of the circuit made by the Persians, called for his arms, and, putting them on, commanded his helot to conduct him to the battle. The slave did so, and immediately fled, while his master died, fighting valiantly. Aristodemus pusillanimously stayed where he was. If either Aristodemus, being individually diseased, had retired home, or if they had returned together, I cannot think that the Spartans could have shown any resentment against them ; but, as one of them died in the field, which the other, who was precisely in the same circumstances, refused to do, it was impossible not to be greatly incensed against Aristodemus.

The safe return of Aristodemus to Sparta is by some thus related and explained. There are others, who assert, that he was despatched on some business from the army, and might, if he had pleased, have been present at the battle, but that he saved himself, by lingering on the way. They add, that his companion, employed on the same business, returned to the battle, and there fell.

Aristodemus, on his return, was branded with disgrace and infamy. No one would speak with him ; no one would supply him with fire ; and the opprobrious term of trembler, was annexed to his name : but he afterwards, at the battle of Platææ, effectually atoned for his former conduct.

It is also said, that another of the three hundred survived ; his name was Pantites, and he had been sent on

some business to Thessaly. Returning to Sparta, he felt himself in disgrace, and put an end to his life.

The Thebans, under the command of Leontiades, hitherto constrained by force, had fought with the Greeks, against the Persians; but, as soon as they saw that the Persians were victorious, when Leonidas and his party retired to the hill, they separated themselves from the Greeks. In the attitude of suppliants, they approached the Barbarians, assuring them, what was really the truth, that they were attached to the Medes; that they had been among the first to render earth and water; that they had only come to Thermopylæ on compulsion, and could not be considered as accessary to the slaughter of the king's troops. The Thessalians confirming the truth of what they had asserted, their lives were preserved. Some of them, however, were slain; for, as they approached, the Barbarians put several to the sword; but the greater part, by the order of Xerxes, had the royal marks impressed on them, beginning with Leontiades himself. Eurymachus, his son, was afterwards slain, at the head of four hundred Thebans, by the people of Platææ, while he was making an attempt on their city.

In this manner, the Greeks fought at Thermopylæ. Xerxes afterwards sent for Demaratus, and thus addressed him: "I have, already, Demaratus, had experience of your truth and integrity; every thing has happened, as you foretold; tell me, then, how many of the Lacedæmonians may there be left? how many of like valor with those who have perished? or, are they all alike?" "Sir," replied Demaratus, "the Lacedæmonians are a numerous people, and possessed of many cities; but I will answer your question more particularly. Sparta, itself, contains eight thousand men, all of whom are equal in valor to those who fought here; the other Lacedæmonians, though inferior to these, are still brave." "Tell me, then," returned Xerxes, "how we may subdue these men, with least trouble: you, who have been their Prince, must know what measures they are likely to pursue."

"Since," answered Demaratus, "you place a confidence in my opinion, it is proper that I should speak to

you from the best of my judgement; I would, therefore, recommend you to send a fleet of three hundred vessels to the coast of Lacedæmonia. Contiguous to this, is an island named Cythera, of which Chilon, the wisest of our countrymen, observed, that it would be better for the Spartans, if it were buried in the sea, foreseeing the probability of such a measure as I now recommend. From this island, your troops may spread terror over Sparta. Thus, a war so very near them, may remove from you any apprehension of their assisting the rest of Greece, which will then be open to your arms, and which, if subdued, will leave Sparta hardly able to oppose you. If my advice be disregarded, you may expect what follows. There is a narrow isthmus in the Peloponnesus, in which all its people will assemble, in resistance to your arms, and where you will have far more violent contests to sustain, than you have here experienced. If you execute what I propose, you may, without a battle, become master of the isthmus, with all the cities of the Peloponnesus."

Achæmenes, the brother of Xerxes, and commander of the fleet, was present at this interview. Fearful that the King might do as he had been advised, he thus delivered his sentiments: "You seem," said he, "too much inclined to listen to a man, who either envies your prosperity, or wishes to betray you. It is the character of Greeks, to envy the successful, and to hate their superiors. We have already lost, by shipwreck, four hundred vessels; if we detach three hundred more to the Peloponnesus, the force of our opponents will be equal to our own. Our united fleet will be far superior to theirs, and, with respect to any efforts they can make, invincible. If your forces by land, and your fleet by sea, advance at the same time, they will be able mutually to assist each other: if you separate them, the fleet will not be able to assist you, nor you the fleet. It becomes you to deliberate well on your own affairs, and not to concern yourself about those of your enemies, nor to inquire, where they will commence their hostilities, what measures they will take, or how numerous they are. Let them attend to their affairs, we to ours. If the Lacedæmonians shall

presume to attack the Persians, they will be far from repairing the loss they have already sustained."

"Achæmenes," answered Xerxes, "I approve your counsel, and will follow it. The sentiments of Demaratus are, I well know, dictated by his regard to my interests; but your advice, to me, seems preferable. I cannot be persuaded, that he has any improper intentions, events having proved the wisdom of his former counsels. One man frequently envies the prosperity of another, and indulges in secret sentiments of hatred against him; neither will he, when he requires it, give him salutary advice, unless, indeed, from some surprising effort of virtue; but a friend exults in a friend's happiness; has no sentiments for him but those of the truest kindness, and gives him always the best advice. Let no one, therefore, in future, use any invective against Demaratus, who is my friend."

When Xerxes had finished, he went to view the dead, among whom was Leonidas. When he heard that he had been the Prince, and leader of Sparta, he ordered his head to be cut off, and his body to be suspended on a cross. This incident is no small proof to me, among many others, that Xerxes indulged the warmest indignation against Leonidas, while he was alive. He otherwise would not have treated him, when dead, with such barbarity. I know that the Persians, of all mankind, most highly honor military virtue. The orders, however, of the King, were executed.

I shall now return to the thread of our history. The Spartans were the first who were acquainted with the King's designs against Greece; they sent to the oracle, on the occasion, and received the answer I have related. The intelligence was communicated to them in an extraordinary manner. Demaratus, the son of Ariston, had taken refuge among the Medes, and, as there is every reason to suppose, was not friendly to the Spartans. He, however, it was, who informed them of what was meditated, whether to serve or insult them, must be left to conjecture. When Xerxes had resolved on this expedition against Greece, Demaratus, who was at Susa, and ac-

quainted with his intentions, determined to inform the Lacedæmonians. As this was both difficult and dangerous, he employed the following means: he took two tablets, and erased the wax from each; then inscribed the purpose of the King on the wood. This done, he replaced the wax, that the several guards, on the road, from seeing the empty tablets, might have no suspicion of the business. When these were delivered at Lacedæmon, the people had no conception of their meaning, till, as I have been informed, Gorgo, the daughter of Cleomenes, and wife of Leonidas, removed the difficulty. Imagining what might be intended, she ordered the wax to be removed, and thus made the contents of the tablets known. The Lacedæmonians, after examining what was inscribed on the wood, circulated the intelligence through Greece.

THE DEATH OF SOCRATES.

BY PLATO.

Plato, one of the greatest philosophers of antiquity, was the disciple of Socrates, who died about four hundred years before Christ. The remark, which was made in the introductory lines to the preceding extract, as to the succession of Greek master minds, in history and poetry,—the master kindling a sacred fire in the pupil, who rises to become a master in turn,—applies, likewise, to the philosophy of Greece. Socrates was the master of Plato, or his "mental father," as the sacred books of the Hindoos call the teacher of moral truths. Plato, in like manner, became the master of Aristotle.

When Socrates began to teach at Athens, the Sophists had greatly perverted the cultivation of the intellect, to the serious detriment of the pursuit of truth, and the stability of moral principles. They sharpened the intellect, indeed; but, like a pointed instrument, which may be used for the worst purposes. Right and Wrong, Just and Unjust, Virtuous and Vicious, became, with them, so many technical terms, only designating a degree of convenience or inconvenience, according to circumstances. Socrates was the first, who taught, once more, virtue and purity, as objects worthy of being cultivated for their own sake, and of being made the subjects of the deepest reflection of the acutest mind. With reference to these noble endeavors, and the fact that law and justice must ever look for their original foundation, for their first starting point, to the immutable principles of morality, Lord Mansfield boldly called Socrates "the great lawyer of antiquity."*

Socrates taught for many years, at Athens, in the course of which, he had naturally frequent occasion to attack or reprimand error, folly, or vice; nor did he ever hesitate fearlessly to do so, wherever he met with them, whether it was in the powerful and renowned, or the humble and unobserved. This, together with the acute manner in which he acquired information, by drawing answers from his an-

* Holliday, p. 105.

tagonist, and leading him, through his own assertions, to the untenableness of his positions, and also his pure and reproachless life, created him many enemies. The vanity of the Sophists was humbled ; the pride of those in power irritated ; the jealousy of all excited, by the increasing number of those, who openly appeared as the followers of the Sage. It happened, as it will always happen, in such cases, when vanity, conscious vice, or arrogant ignorance, feel reproached and humbled, and the spotless life of him who humbles them affords not even a handle for slander. Violence is resorted to, in order to crush, where means are lacking to defeat. When intellectual victory cannot be hoped for, physical undoing must stand in place of it.

Socrates had never taken a leading part in politics ; it would have interfered with his divine career : but he had always done his duty, as a good citizen. He had bravely fought for his country at Platææ ; he had gone to vote, when called upon, as a simple citizen ; and had done so, conscientiously and boldly, as the reader will see from the sequel. In this point of view, he could not be attacked ; nor was there any definite crime, which could be laid to his charge, with any degree of plausibility. What was more natural, than that his enemies should resort to religious charges, and endeavor to rouse the fanaticism of the multitude ? He has taught other gods, than our State, by established religion, acknowledges ! He corrupts the youth, by giving them a distaste to what we have enacted ! He is a rebel ! The power-holders were told they had been offended, and were called upon to ruin the offender !

If Socrates had led a spotless life, he showed in his death, such composure, unruffled serenity, and consciousness of purity, that, besides all the sympathy, which its recital must awaken, in every heart, in which a spark of virtue is left, we feel amazed at the moral grandeur of this man, standing alone, and unsupported by religion, without any other reliance than that which his pure soul derived from virtue itself, for its own sake, its own purity. Socrates might have escaped his unjust death ; he was pressed to do so : but he would not disobey the laws of his country, now, when they weighed hard upon him, since he had enjoyed their protection so long, during life. He could not lighten the burden of death, by the joyous considerations of the Christian martyr, that even the bitterest end, endured for the profession of his Lord, is but a trifling return for the

death which his Master has suffered for him. He could not cheer and calm his soul by a firm and clear conviction of an endless life of reward, for a finite time of suffering, however admirable his great mind may also appear, in this particular, that it elevated itself to a belief in the immortality of the soul, and a purer deity. To the last breath of his untarnished life, he appears to us as the great hero of virtue. "Socrates," says a modern philosopher,* "is a classic masterpiece of virtue;" so grand is the image, in its outlines, so perfect in its proportions.

I shall be able to give but a very brief extract from those writings of Plato, in which the last moments of his master are described; but it has ever appeared to me, that, as it is our bounden duty not to neglect the choicest treasures, which, in the toilsome course of civilization, may have been brought to light, those Dialogues of Plato ought to be read by every one, even if the works, for the perusal of which, a man in the practical pursuits of life may find time, be reduced to the very smallest number. They have the salutary power of exalting the reader's mind, and imparting a feeling of nobleness and purity to his soul. Translations have made them accessible to all. The Apology of Plato was read and re-read by Cicero; who says, that he could never peruse it, without tears; and, if the remarks just made were intended chiefly for the general reader, it is no less true, in my opinion, that the same writings should always belong to those few, which the growing inner and outer experience of a man of reflection and literary acquirement has taught him to select, for a regular and periodical reperusal. Some of these will always be selected, and ought to be so, with particular regard to the individuality of each man; others are alike important for all; and to these belong, I believe, 'Plato's Apology,' and the mentioned Dialogues, entitled 'Criton and Phædon.'

The following is taken from the second volume of 'Historical Parallels,' as offering as judicious a combination of extracts, as can be made for our purpose.

After Socrates had continued to teach, at least twenty-four years, (for the date of the 'Clouds'† informs us, that he had obtained some notoriety before the year 423, B.C.,

* *Hegel*, a late German philosopher.

† A comedy of Aristophanes, in which Socrates is ridiculed.

in which that comedy was acted,) a criminal accusation was brought against him, in 399, B. C., to the following effect: "Socrates does amiss, not recognising the gods which the State recognises, and introducing other new divine natures; and he does amiss, in that he corrupts the young." The originator of the charge was an obscure person, named Melitus,* a poet, and a bad one; but he was joined by Lycon, an orator, and Anytus, a man of wealth and consideration in Athens. The cause of that enmity, which led to this prosecution, is nowhere clearly explained. In the apology of Plato, Socrates says, that his three accusers attacked him, "Melitus being my enemy on account of the poets, but Anytus on account of the artificers and politicians, and Lycon on account of the orators." This passage would rather suggest the notion of private enmity, which is, in some degree, confirmed by another passage in the apology of Xenophon, where Socrates refers the dislike of Anytus, to a comment, made on his style of bringing up his son. The causes of hatred ascribed to Melitus and Lycon must be explained,—the one, by Socrates' avowed contempt for the fictions of poets; the other, to his equally avowed abhorrence of that system of instruction practised by the Sophists; of which one, and that the most popular branch, was the teaching oratory as an art, by which any person could be enabled to speak on any subject, however ignorant concerning the real merits of it. This desire to remove Socrates existing, whatever its origin, it could not be gratified, without finding some plausible ground to go upon. Nothing could be objected to his actions; as a soldier, he had distinguished himself for bravery; as a public officer, he had shown inflexible integrity, when the infamous vote was passed, for putting to death the generals who won the battle of Arginusæ; and, on another occasion, as a citizen, he had refused, when ordered to apprehend Leon of Salamis,† at the hazard of life, to perform an act contrary to the laws. The real or alleged character of his philos-

* Schleiermacher reads, *Meletus*.

† Mitford, chap. xxxi. 2.

ophy and teaching, then, was the only handle against him. It was difficult to find just ground of complaint against it. But to invent false charges is never difficult; and those which came readiest to hand were the same, to a certain extent, as Aristophanes, in ignorance or wantonness, had long before brought against him. "What," he says in the 'Apology,' "do my accusers say? It is this, 'Socrates acts wickedly, and, with criminal curiosity, investigates things under the earth, and in the heavens. He also makes the worse to be the better argument, and he teaches these things to others.' Such is the accusation; for things of this kind, you also have yourselves seen in the comedy of Aristophanes; for there, one Socrates is carried about, who affirms, that he walks upon the air, and idly asserts many other trifles of this nature; of which things, however, I neither know much, nor little." If we are to take this, literally, it involves the charge of not believing in any gods at all, for such is the character of Socrates, as given in the 'Clouds;' a charge, the falsity of which is amply proved, both by Xenophon and Plato, in their respective 'Apologies'. The charge of introducing new deities refers to the demon, or divine nature, by which Socrates professed to be guided in his conduct, from a child, and which manifested itself, by an internal voice; which never suggested any thing, but very frequently warned him from that which he was about to do. False, however, as the charge against him was, in all respects, Socrates appears to have felt that his condemnation was certain, and to have taken no pains, either to avert it, or to escape. The orator Lysias is said to have composed a labored speech, which he offered to the philosopher, to be used as his defence; but he declined it. His trial came on before the court of Heliæa, the most numerous tribunal in Athens, in which a body of judges sat, fluctuating in number, but usually consisting of several hundreds, chosen, by lot, from among the body of the citizens. It was not, therefore, to a bench of judges, such as we are used to see them, bred to the law, and presumed, at least, to be dispassionate and unprejudiced, but to a popular assembly, that he had to plead. Never-

theless, he abstained, studiously, from every means of working on the passions, even to the usual method of supplication and moving pity, by the introduction of his weeping family. Such appeals, he thought unbecoming his own character, or the gravity of a court of justice, in which, the question of the guilt or innocence of a prisoner ought, alone, to be regarded. Judgement, as he expected, was pronounced against him, though only by a majority of three. By the Athenian law, the guilt of an accused person being affirmed by the judges, a second question arose, concerning the amount of his punishment. The accuser, in his charge, stated the penalty which he proposed to inflict; the prisoner had the privilege of speaking in mitigation of judgement, and naming that which he considered adequate to the offence. Socrates, at this stage of his trial, still preserved the same high tone. If, he said, I am to estimate my own punishment, it must be according to my merits; and, as these are great, I deserve that reward which is suited to a poor man, who has been your benefactor, namely, a public maintenance in the Prytaneium.* Death, he said, he did not fear, not knowing whether it were a change for the better or the worse. Imprisonment and exile, he esteemed worse than death; and, being persuaded of his own innocence, he would never be party to a sentence of evil on himself. To a fine, if he had money to pay it, he had no objection, since the loss of the money would leave him no worse off than before; and, as he was able to pay a *mina* of silver, (about twenty dollars,) he would assess his punishment at that sum: or, rather, at thirty minæ, as Plato, and three other of his disciples, expressed a wish to become his sureties to that amount.

This was not a line of conduct likely to excite pity, and sentence of death was passed, by a larger majority than before. He again addressed a short speech to his judges, in which he tells them, that, for the sake of cutting off a little from his life, already verging on the grave,

* This public maintenance was esteemed one of the highest honors that the State could confer.

they had incurred and brought on the city a lasting reproach, and that he might have escaped, if he would have condescended to use supplications and lamentations. Of his mode of defence, however, he repented not, seeing that he would rather die, having so spoken, than live by the use of unworthy methods ; and that to escape death was far less difficult, than to avoid baseness. He concluded, by an address to the judges, who had voted for his acquittal, stating the grounds of his hopes that death would be a change for the better ; the first of which is, that the demon had never opposed or checked his intended line of conduct, during the whole of these proceedings, nor, in his speeches had it ever stopped him from saying any thing that he meant to say, as it was used often to do, in conversation : from which he inferred, that his invisible guide had approved of all that he did, and that, therefore, a good thing was about to happen to him. Death, he said, was either insensibility, or a migration of the soul : in the former case, as compared with life, he esteemed it a change for the better ; in the latter, if the general belief was true, what greater good could there be, than to meet and enjoy the society of the great men of antiquity. Urging, therefore, these just judges to look confidently towards death, and to believe that, to a good man, dead or alive, no real harm can happen, he concludes,—" It is time that we should depart, I to die, you to live ; but which of us to the better thing, is known to the Divinity, alone."

Death usually followed close upon condemnation ; but the death of Socrates was delayed, by an Athenian usage, of great antiquity, said to have been instituted in commemoration of the deliverance of Attica, by Theseus, from the tyranny of Minos. Every year, the sacred ship, in which Theseus had sailed to Crete, was despatched, with offerings, to the sacred island of Delos ; and, in the interim between its departure and return, no criminals were ever put to death. Socrates was condemned, the evening before its departure, and, consequently, he was respited until its return,—a period of thirty days. During this time, his friends had access to him ; and the Di-

alogues of Plato, entitled 'Criton and Phædon,' purport to be the substance of conversations, held by him, towards the close of this time. If he had been willing to escape, the gaoler was bribed, and the means of escape prepared; but this was a breach of the laws, which he refused to countenance; and he still thought, as he had said in his speech, exile to be worse than death. On the last day of his life, when his friends were admitted at sunrise, they found him with his wife and one child. These were soon dismissed, lest their lamentations should disturb his last interview with his friends and pupils: and he commenced a conversation, which speedily turned on the immortality of the soul, the arguments for which, as they could best be developed by one of the acutest of human intellects, are summed up in that celebrated Dialogue, the 'Phædon,' which professes to relate all the events of this last day of the philosopher's life. It concludes as follows:

"When he had thus spoken, 'Be it so, Socrates,' said Criton; 'but what orders do you leave to these who are present, or to myself, either respecting your children, or any thing else, in the execution of which we should most gratify you?' 'What I always do say, Criton, (he replied,) nothing new; that, if you pay due attention to yourselves, do what you will, you will always do what is acceptable to myself, to my family, and to your own selves, though you should not now promise me any thing. But if you neglect yourselves, and are unwilling to live, following the track, as it were, of what I have said, both now and heretofore, you will do nothing the more, though you should now promise many things, and that with earnestness.' 'We shall take care, therefore,' said Criton, 'so to act. But how would you be buried?' 'Just as you please, (said he,) if you can but catch me, and I do not elude your pursuit.' And, at the same time, gently laughing, and addressing himself to us, 'I cannot persuade Criton,' he said, 'my friends, that I am that Socrates who now disputes with you, and methodizes every part of the discourse: but he thinks that I am he whom he will shortly behold dead, and asks how I ought to be buried. But all that long discourse, which, some time since, I address-

ed to you, in which I asserted, that, after I had drunk the poison, I should no longer remain with you, but should depart to certain felicities of the blessed, this I seem to have declared to him in vain, though it was undertaken to console both you and myself. Be surety, therefore, for me, to Criton, to the reverse of that, for which he became surety for me to the judges ; for he was my bail that I should remain ; but be you my bail that I shall not remain, when I die, but shall depart hence, that Criton may bear it the more easily, and may not be afflicted, when he sees my body burnt or buried, as if I were suffering some dreadful misfortune ; and that he may not say, at my interment, that Socrates is laid out, or carried out, or is buried. For, be well assured of this, my friend Criton, that, when we speak amiss, we are not only blamable as to our expressions, but likewise do some evil to our souls. But it is fit to be of good heart, and to say, that my body will be buried, and to bury it in such manner as may be most pleasing to yourself, and as you may esteem it most agreeable to our laws.'

"When he had thus spoken, he arose, and went into another room, that he might wash himself, and Criton followed him ; but he ordered us to wait for him. We waited, therefore, accordingly, discoursing over, and reviewing, among ourselves, what had been said ; and sometimes speaking about his death, how great a calamity it would be to us ; and sincerely thinking, that we, like those who are deprived of their fathers, should pass the rest of our life in the condition of orphans. But, when he had washed himself, his sons were brought to him, (for he had two little ones, and one older,) and the women belonging to his family likewise came in to him : but, when he had spoken to them before Criton, and had left them such injunctions as he thought proper, he ordered the boys and women to depart, and he himself returned to us. And it was now near the setting of the sun ; for he had been away, in the inner room, for a long time. But, when he came in from bathing, he sat down, and did not speak much, afterwards ; for then the servant of the Eleven* came in, and,

* Athenian magistrates, who had the charge of executing criminals.

standing near him, 'I do not perceive that in you, Socrates,' said he, 'which I have taken notice of in others; I mean, that they are angry with me, and curse me, when, being compelled by the magistrates, I announce to them that they must drink the poison. But, on the contrary, I have found you, to the present time, to be the most generous, mild, and best, of all the men that ever came into this place; and, therefore, I am well convinced, that you are not angry with me, but with the authors of your present condition, for you know who they are. Now, therefore, (for you know what I came to tell you,) farewell; and endeavor to bear this necessity as easily as possible.' And, at the same time, bursting into tears, and turning himself away, he departed. But Socrates, looking after him, said, 'And thou, too, farewell; and we shall take care to act as you advise.' And, at the same time, turning to us, 'How courteous,' he said, 'is the behavior of that man! During the whole time of my abode here, he has visited me, and often conversed with me, and proved himself to be the best of men; and now, how generously he weeps on my account! But let us obey him, Criton, and let some one bring the poison, if it is bruised; and if not, let the man, whose business it is, bruise it.' 'But, Socrates,' said Criton, 'I think that the sun still hangs over the mountains, and is not set yet. And, at the same time, I have known others, who have drunk the poison very late, after it was announced to them; who have supped and drank abundantly. Therefore, do not be in such haste, for there is yet time enough.' Socrates replied, 'Such men, Criton, act fitly in the manner which you have described, for they think to derive some advantage by so doing; and I, also, with propriety, shall not act in this manner. For I do not think I shall gain any thing, by drinking it later, except becoming ridiculous to myself, through desiring to live, and being sparing of life, when nothing of it any longer remains. Go, therefore,' said he, 'be persuaded, and comply with my request.'

"Then Criton, hearing this, gave a sign to the boy that stood near him; and the boy departing, and having staid

for some time, came back with the person that was to administer the poison, who brought it, pounded in a cup. And Socrates, looking at the man, said, 'Well, my friend, (for you are knowing in these matters,) what is to be done?' 'Nothing,' he said, 'but, after you have drunk it, to walk about, until a heaviness takes place in your legs, and then to lie down: this is the manner in which you have to act.' And, at the same time, he extended the cup to Socrates. And Socrates, taking it, and, indeed, Echecrates, with great cheerfulness, neither trembling, nor suffering any change for the worse in his color or countenance, but, as he was used to do, looking up sternly at the man—'What say you,' he said, 'as to making a libation from this potion? may I do it or not?' 'We only bruise as much, Socrates,' he said, 'as we think sufficient for the purpose.' 'I understand you,' he said; 'but it is both lawful and proper to pray to the gods, that my departure hence, thither, may be prosperous; which I entreat them to grant may be the case.' And, so saying, he stopped, and drank the poison very readily and pleasantly. And thus far, indeed, the greater part of us were tolerably well able to refrain from weeping; but, when we saw him drinking, and that he had drank it, we could no longer restrain our tears. And from me, indeed, in spite of my efforts, they flowed, and not drop by drop; so that, wrapping myself in my mantle, I bewailed myself, not, indeed, for his misfortune, but for my own, considering what a companion I should be deprived of. But Criton, who was not able to restrain his tears, was compelled to rise before me. And Apollodorus, who, during the whole time prior to this, had not ceased from weeping, then wept aloud, with great bitterness, so that he infected all who were present, except Socrates. But Socrates, upon seeing this, exclaimed, 'What are you doing, you strange men! In truth, I principally sent away the women, lest they should produce a disturbance of this kind; for I have heard, that it is proper to die among well-omened sounds. Be quiet, therefore, and maintain your fortitude.' And when we heard this, we were ashamed, and restrained our tears. But he,

when he found, during his walking about, that his legs became heavy, and had told us so, laid himself down on his back. For the man had told him to do so. And, at the same time, he who gave him the poison, touching him at intervals, examined his feet and legs. And then, pressing very hard on his foot, he asked him if he felt it. But Socrates answered, that he did not. And, after this, he pressed his thighs, and thus, going upwards, he showed us that he was cold and stiff. And Socrates also touched himself, and said, that when the poison reached his heart, he should then depart. But now, the lower part of his body was almost cold; when, uncovering himself, (for he was covered,) he said, (and these were his last words,) 'Criton, we owe a cock to Æsculapius. Discharge this debt, therefore, for me, and do not neglect it.' 'It shall be done,' said Criton; 'but consider, whether you have any other commands.' To this inquiry of Criton, he made no reply; but, shortly after, moved himself, and the man uncovered him. And Socrates fixed his eyes; which, when Criton perceived, he closed his mouth and eyes. This, Echecrates, was the end of our companion; a man, as it appears to me, the best of those whom we were acquainted with at that time, and, besides this, the most prudent and just."*

* Taylor's translation of Plato. Some slight alterations have been made, where the translator seemed to have gone unnecessarily far from the language of the original. — *Note of the English author.*

THE SURRENDER OF THE ROMAN ARMY, AT THE DEFILE NEAR CAUDIUM, B. C. 319.

BY LIVY.

The three most prominent early Italian nations were the Etruscans, the Latins, and the people of Samnium. The last-named country consisted of a mountain tract, in the southeastern part of central Italy, and its inhabitants were renowned for their frugality, industry, and bravery. All of them cultivated the soil; and the institution of an agricultural priesthood, (*fratres arvales*,*) was borrowed by the Romans from the Samnites. They, like the Latins and Tuscans, formed a league, or confederacy, of several communities, otherwise independent. The Romans, at an early period, came in contact with these warlike mountaineers. The Samnites had attacked Capua, the wealthy capital of Campania; and, when the inhabitants of this city saw that they were not strong enough to defend it, they offered themselves as subjects to the republic of Rome, so that Rome should feel obliged to defend Capua, as its own. The Romans accepted the offer, and were successful in the ensuing war against the Samnites. Peace was concluded; but, after it had subsisted for some time, war was renewed, and lasted many years. During its continuance, the Roman legions were made prisoners by the Samnites, who granted them permission to depart, upon very humiliating conditions. It is the description of this part of the war which has been selected as an extract from Livy, in whose history it is found, at the beginning of the Ninth Book. A few brief remarks respecting Livy will be found, preceding the next article.

* The order of priests who went in procession through the fields, and prayed for the increase of corn, at the festival called Ambarvalia, when the fields were dedicated and blessed. Those priests were twelve in number, and the order is said to have been instituted by Romulus, in honor of his nurse, Acca Laurentia, who had twelve sons, and when one of them died, Romulus, to console her, offered to supply his place, and called himself and the rest of her sons *fratres arvales*.—I.

THE year, following, [A. U. C. 433, B. C. 319,] was distinguished by the convention of Caudium, so memorable, on account of the misfortune of the Romans. The consuls of the year were Titus Veturius Calvinus and Spurius Postumius.

The Samnites were that year commanded by Caius Pontius, son to Herennius, born of a father most highly renowned for wisdom, and himself a consummate warrior and commander. When the ambassadors,* who had been sent to offer restitution, returned, without concluding a peace, he said, in an assembly :

" That you may not think that no purpose has been effected by this embassy, be assured, that, whatever degree of anger the deities of heaven had conceived against us, on account of the infraction of the treaty, has been hereby expiated. I am very confident, that, whatever deities they were, whose will it was that you should be reduced to the necessity of making restitution, it was not agreeable to them, that our atonement for the breach of treaty should be so haughtily spurned by the Romans : for, what more could possibly be done, towards appeasing the gods and softening the anger of man, than we have done ? The effects of the enemy, taken among the spoils, which appeared to be our own, by the right of war, we restored ; the authors of the war, as we could not deliver them up, alive, we delivered to them, dead ; their goods we carried to Rome, lest, by retaining them, any degree of guilt should remain among us. What more, Roman, do I owe to thee ? what, to the treaty ? what, to the gods, the guarantees of the treaty ? What umpire shall I call in, to judge of your resentment, and of my punishment ? I decline none ; neither nation nor private persons.

" But, if the weak is not to find protection against a stronger, in human laws, I will appeal to the gods, the avengers of intolerable arrogance, and will beseech them, to turn their wrath against those, who are not satisfied by the restoration of their own, nor by additional heaps of

* That is, the Samnite ambassadors.

other men's property ; whose inhuman rage is not satiated by the death of the guilty, by the surrender of their lifeless bodies, and by their goods, accompanying the surrender of the owner ; who cannot be appeased, otherwise than by giving them our blood to drink, and our entrails to be torn.

" Samnites ! war is just, when it becomes necessary ; and arms are clear of impiety, when men have no hope left but in arms. Wherefore, as the issue of every human undertaking depends, chiefly, on men's acting either with or without the favor of the gods, be assured, that the former wars you waged in opposition to the gods, more than to men ; in this, which we are now to undertake, you will act under the immediate guidance of the gods themselves."

After uttering these predictions, not more favorable than true, he led out the troops, and placed his camp about Caudium, as much out of view, as possible. Thence, he sent to Calatia, where he heard that the Roman consuls were encamped, ten soldiers, in the habit of shepherds, and ordered them to keep some cattle feeding, in several different places, at a small distance from the Roman posts ; and that, when they fell in with any of their foragers, they should all agree in the same story, that the legions of the Samnites were then in Apulia, besieging Luceria, with their whole force, and very near becoming masters of it. Such a rumor had been industriously spread, before, and had already reached the Romans ; but these prisoners caused them to give it greater credit, especially, as they all concurred in the same report. The Romans did not hesitate to resolve on carrying succor to the Lucernians, because they were good and faithful allies ; and for this further reason, lest all Apulia, through apprehension of the impending danger, might go over to the enemy.

The only point which came under deliberation was, by what road they should go. There were two roads leading to Luceria, one along the coast of the upper sea, wide and open ; but, as it was the safer, so it was proportionably longer : the other, which was shorter,

through the Caudine forks. The nature of the place is this : there are two deep glens, narrow, and covered with wood, connected together by mountains, ranging on both sides, from one to the other : between these, lies a plain, of considerable extent, abounding in grass and water, through the middle of which the passage runs ; but, before this is arrived at, the first defile must be passed, while the only way back is through the road by which it was entered ; or, in case of resolving to proceed forward, it must be by the other glen, which is still more narrow and difficult.

Into this plain, the Romans marched down their troops, by one of those passes through the cleft of a rock ; and, when they advanced to the other defile, found it blocked up, by trees thrown across, with a mound of huge stones. The stratagem of the enemy now became apparent ; and, at the same time, a body of troops was seen on the eminence, over the glen. Hastening back, then, to the road by which they had entered, they found that also shut up, by such another fence and men in arms. Then, without orders, they halted ; amazement took possession of their minds, and a strange kind of numbness, their limbs. They then remained, a long time, motionless and silent, with their eyes fixed on each other, as if each thought the other more capable of judging and advising, than himself. After some time, the consul's pavilions were erected, and they got ready the implements for throwing up works, although they were sensible that it must appear ridiculous, to attempt to raise a fortification in their present desperate condition, and when almost every hope was lost. Yet, not to add a fault to their misfortunes, they all, without being advised or ordered by any one, set earnestly to work, and enclosed a camp with a rampart, close to the water, while themselves, besides enduring the haughty taunts of their enemies, seemed with melancholy to acknowledge the apparent fruitlessness of their labor. The lieutenant-generals and tribunes, without being summoned to consultation, (for there was no room for either consultation or remedy,) assembled round the dejected consul ; while

the soldiers, crowding to the general's quarters, demanded from their leaders that succor, which it was hardly in the power of the immortal gods, themselves, to afford them.

Night came on, while they were employed in lamenting their situation, all urging, with warmth, whatever their several tempers prompted. Some crying out, "Let us go over those fences, which obstruct the roads;" others, "over the steeps; through the woods; any way, where arms can be carried. Let us be but permitted to come to the enemy, whom we have been used to conquer, now, near thirty years. All places will be level and plain to a Roman, fighting against the perfidious Samnite." Another would say, "Whither, or by what way, can we go? Do we expect to remove the mountains from their foundations? While these cliffs hang over us, how can we proceed? Whether armed or unarmed, brave or dastardly, we are all, without distinction, captured and vanquished. The enemy will not even show us a weapon, by which we might die, with honor. He will finish the war, without moving from his seat." In such discourse, thinking of neither food nor rest, they passed the whole night.

Nor could the Samnites, though in circumstances so accordant to their wishes, instantly determine how to act: it was therefore universally agreed, that Herennius Pontius, father of the general, should be consulted, by letter. He was now grown feeble, through age, and had withdrawn himself, not only from all military, but also from all civil, occupations; yet, notwithstanding the decline of his bodily strength, his mind retained its full vigor. When he was informed that the Roman armies were shut up at the Caudine forks, between the two glens, and was asked for advice, by his son's messenger, he gave his opinion, that they should all be immediately dismissed thence, unhurt. On this counsel being rejected, and the same messenger returning, to advise with him, a second time, he recommended that they should all, to a man, be put to death. On receiving these answers, so opposite to each other, like the ambiguous re-

sponses of an oracle, his son, although, as well as others, persuaded that the powers of his father's mind, together with those of his body, had been impaired by age, was yet prevailed on, by the general desire of all, to send for him and consult him in person.

The old man, we are told, complied, without reluctance, and was carried in a wagon to the camp, where, when he came to speak, he made no alteration in the opinions which he had given: he only added the reasons on which he founded them: That, "by his first plan, which he esteemed the best, he meant, by an act of extraordinary kindness, to establish perpetual peace and friendship with a most powerful nation; by the other, to put off the return of war, to the distance of many ages, during which, the Roman state, after the loss of those two armies, could not easily recover its strength. A third plan there was not." His son, and the other chiefs, then asking him if "a plan of a middle kind might not be adopted,—of dismissing them, unhurt; and, at the same time, by the right of war, imposing terms on them, as vanquished?"—"That, indeed," said he, "is a plan of such a nature, as neither procures friends nor removes enemies. Only consider who they are, whom you would irritate by ignominious treatment. The Romans are a race who know not how to sit down quiet, under defeat; any scar, which the present necessity shall imprint in their breasts, will rankle there, for ever, and will not suffer them to rest, until they have wreaked manifold vengeance on your heads." Neither of these plans was approved, and Herennius was carried home.

In the other camp, the Romans, having made many fruitless efforts to force a passage, and being now destitute of every means of subsistence, were reduced, by necessity, to send ambassadors, who were, first, to ask peace, on equal terms; which, if they did not obtain, they were to challenge the enemy to battle. To this, Pontius answered, "that the war was at an end; and since, even in their present vanquished and captive state, they were not willing to make acknowledgement of their situation, he would send them under the yoke, unarmed,

and only partly clothed: that the other conditions of peace should be such as were just and proper, between the conquerors and the conquered. Their troops must depart, and their colonies be withdrawn, out of the territories of the Samnites; and, for the future, the Romans and Samnites, under a treaty of equality, shall live according to their own respective laws. On these terms, he was ready to negotiate with the consuls; and, if any of these should not be accepted, he forbade the ambassadors to come to him, again."

When the result of this embassy was made known, such general lamentation suddenly arose, and such melancholy took possession of every mind, that, had they been told that all were to die on the spot, they could not have felt deeper affliction. Silence continued a long time, the consuls not being able to utter a word, either in favor of a treaty so disgraceful, or against a treaty so necessary.

At length, Lucius Lentulus, who was the first among the lieutenant-generals, both in respect of bravery and of the public honors which he had attained, addressed them, thus: "Consuls, I have often heard my father say, that he was the only person in the capitol who did not advise the senate to ransom the state from the Gauls, with gold: and this he would not concur in, because they had not been enclosed with a trench and rampart, by the enemy, (who were remarkably slothful, with respect to works and raising fortifications,) and because they might sally forth, if not without great danger, yet without certain destruction. Now, if, in like manner, as they had it in their power to run down from the capitol, in arms, against their foe, as men besieged have often sallied out on their besiegers, it were possible for us to come to blows, either on equal or unequal ground, the advice which I should give would not be devoid of the same spirit which animated my father.

"I acknowledge, indeed, that death, in defence of our country, is highly glorious; and I am ready, either to devote myself for the Roman people and the legions, or to plunge into the midst of the enemy. But, in this

spot, I behold my country; in this spot, the whole of the Roman legions; and, unless these choose to rush on death, for their own gratification, what is there which can be preserved by their death? The houses of the city, some may say, and the walls of it, and the crowd who dwell in it. But, in fact, in case of the destruction of this army, all these are given up to ruin, instead of being saved from it: for who will protect them? An unwarlike and unarmed multitude, shall I suppose? Yes; just as they defended them against the attack of the Gauls. Will they call to their succor an army from Veii, with Camillus at its head? Here, on the spot, I repeat, are all our hopes and strength; by preserving which, we preserve our country; by delivering them up to death, we abandon and betray it. But a surrender is shameful and ignominious. True: but such ought to be our affection for our country, that we should save it, by our own disgrace, if necessity required, as freely as by our death. Let us therefore undergo that indignity, how great soever, and submit to that necessity, to which even the gods, themselves, are seen to yield. Go, consuls; ransom the state for arms, which your ancestors ransomed with gold."

The consuls accordingly went to Pontius, to confer with him; and, when he talked, in the strain of a conqueror, of a treaty, they declared that such could not be concluded, without an order of the people, nor without the ministry of the heralds, and the other customary rites. So that the Caudine peace was not ratified by settled treaty, as is commonly believed, and even asserted by Claudius, in his history, but by convention, wherein the parties became sureties. For what occasion would there be, either for sureties or hostages, in the former case, where the ratification is performed by the imprecation, "that, whichever nation shall give occasion to the said terms being violated, may Jupiter strike that nation, in like manner as the swine is struck by the heralds." The consuls, lieutenant-generals, quæstors, and military tribunes, became sureties; and the names of all these are extant in the convention; where, had the business been

transacted by treaty, none would have appeared, but those of the two heralds.

On account of the necessary delay, before a peace could be concluded, it was also insisted on, that six hundred horsemen should be given, as hostages, who were to suffer death, if the compact were not fulfilled. A time was then fixed for delivering up the hostages, and sending away the troops, disarmed. The return of the consuls renewed the general grief, in the camp; insomuch, that the men hardly refrained from offering violence to them; "by whose rashness," they said, "they had been brought into such a situation; and through whose cowardice they were likely to depart, with greater disgrace than they came. They had employed no guide who knew the country, nor scouts to explore it; but went on, blindly, like beasts into a pitfall." They cast looks of distraction on each other; viewed, earnestly, the arms which they must presently surrender; while their persons would be subject to the will of the enemy; figured to themselves the hostile yoke, the scoffs of the conquerors, their haughty looks, and, finally, thus disarmed, their march through the midst of an armed foe. In a word, they saw, with horror, the miserable journey of their dishonored band, through the cities of the allies; and their return into their own country, to their parents, whither themselves and their ancestors had so often come, in triumph: observing, that "they, alone, had been conquered without a fight, without a weapon thrown, without a wound; that they had not been permitted to draw their swords against the enemy. In vain had arms, in vain had strength, in vain had courage, been given them."

While they were giving vent to such grievous reflections, the fatal hour of their disgrace arrived, which was to render every circumstance still more shocking, in fact, than they had preconceived it, in their imaginations. First, they were ordered to go out, beyond the rampart, unarmed, and with single garments; then the hostages were surrendered, and carried into custody: the lictors were next commanded to depart from the consuls, and the

robes of the latter were stripped off. This excited such a degree of commiseration, in the breasts of those very men, who, a little before, were pouring execrations on them, that every one, forgetting his own condition, turned away his eyes from that disgraceful insult on so high a dignity, as from a spectacle too horrid to behold.

First, the consuls, nearly half naked, were sent under the yoke; then, each officer, according to his rank, was exposed to disgrace; and the same of the legions, successively. The enemy stood on each side, under arms, reviling and mocking them; swords were pointed at most of them; several were wounded, and some even slain, when their looks, rendered too fierce by the indignity to which they were subjected, gave offence to the conquerors. Thus, they were led under the yoke; and, what was still more intolerable, under the eyes of the enemy.

When they were clear of the defile, they seemed as if they had been drawn up from the infernal regions, and then, for the first time, beheld the light; yet, when they viewed the ignominious appearance, to which the army was reduced, the light itself was more painful to them, than any kind of death could have been; so that, although they might have arrived at Capua, before night, yet, doubting the fidelity of the allies, and embarrassed by shame, they halted at a small distance from that city. They stood in need of every kind of refreshment, yet threw themselves carelessly on the ground, on each side of the road; which, being told at Capua, compassion for the situation of their allies took place of the arrogance natural to the Campanians. They immediately sent to the consuls their ensigns of office, the fasces and lictors; to the soldiers, arms, horses, clothes, and provisions, in abundance; and, on their approach, the whole senate and people went out to meet them, and performed every proper office of hospitality, both public and private. But the looks and address of the allies, joined with all their kindness, could not draw a word from them, nor even prevail on them to raise their eyes. So deeply were they affected, by shame and grief, that they shunned the conversation of these, their friends.

Next day, when some young nobles, who had been sent from Capua, to escort them on their road to the frontiers of Campania, returned, they were called into the senate-house, and, in answer to the inquiries of the elder members, said, that "to them they seemed deeply sunk in melancholy and dejection; that the whole body moved on, in silence, almost as if they were dumb; that the former genius of the Romans was struck mute; and their spirit had been taken from them, together with their arms. Not one gave answer to those who saluted them; as if, through fear, they were unable to utter a word; and as if their necks still carried the yoke under which they had been sent. That the Samnites had obtained a victory, not only glorious but lasting; for they had subdued, not Rome, merely, as the Gauls had formerly done, but, what was a much more warlike achievement, the Roman courage." These discourses were attentively listened to, and lamentations made, in this assembly of faithful allies, as if the Roman name were almost extinct.

We are told that Ofilius Calavius, son of Ovius, a man highly distinguished, both by his birth and conduct, and at this time further respectable, on account of his age, declared, that he entertained a very different opinion in the case. "This obstinate silence," said he; "those ears, deaf to all comfort; those eyes, fixed on the earth, with the shame of beholding the light; are indications of a mind calling forth, from its inmost recesses, the utmost exertions of resentment. Either he was ignorant of the temper of the Romans, or that silence would shortly excite, among the Samnites, lamentable cries and groans; for that the remembrance of the Caudine peace would be much more sorrowful to the Samnites than to the Romans. Each side would have their own native spirit, wherever they should happen to engage; but the Samnites would not, every where, have the glens of Caudium."

People at Rome were, by this time, informed of the disaster which had befallen them. At first, they heard that the troops were shut up; afterward, the news of the

ignominious peace arrived ; and this caused greater affliction than had been felt for their danger. On the report of their being surrounded, a levy of men was begun ; but, when it was understood that the army had surrendered, in so disgraceful a manner, the preparations were laid aside, and immediately, without any public directions, a general mourning took place, with all various demonstrations of grief. The shops were shut; and all business ceased in the forum, by common consent, without any order for that purpose being issued. Ornamented dresses* were laid aside ; and the public were in greater tribulation, if possible, than the vanquished, themselves ; they were not only enraged against the commanders, the advisers and sureties of the peace, but were filled with detestation even of the unoffending soldiers, and asserted, that they ought not to be admitted into the city.

But these transports of passion were allayed by the arrival of the troops, in a state so deplorable, as was sufficient to convert even anger into compassion ; for they came into the city, not like men returning into their country, with unexpected safety, but in the habit and with the looks of captives, late in the evening ; and they hid themselves, so closely, in their houses, that, for the next and several following days, not one of them could bear to come in sight of the forum or of the public. The consuls, shut up in private, transacted no official business, except that they were compelled, by a decree of the senate, to nominate a dictator to preside at the elections. They nominated Quintus Fabius Ambustus ; and, as master of the horse, Publius Ælius Pætus. But some irregularity being discovered in their appointment, there was substituted, in their room, Marcus Æmilus Papus, dictator, and Lucius Valerius Flaccus, master of the horse. But neither did these hold the election: and the people being dissat-

* In the original, *lati clavi*. The latus clavus was a tunic, or vest, ornamented with a broad stripe of purple on the forepart, worn by the senators ; the knights wore a similar one, only ornamented with a narrower stripe. Gold rings were also used, as badges of distinction ; the common people wore iron ones.

isfied with all the magistrates of that year, an interregnum ensued. The office of interrex was held by Quintus Fabius Maximus; afterward, by Marcus Valerius Corvus, who elected consuls, Quintus Publilius Philo, and Lucius Papirius Cursor, a second time, [A. U. C. 434, B.C. 318;] a choice universally approved, for there were no commanders, at that time, of higher reputation.

They entered into office, immediately on being elected, for so it had been determined by the fathers. When the customary decrees of the senate were passed, they proposed the consideration of the Caudine peace; and Publilius, whose duty it was to open the business, said, "Spurius Postumius, speak." He arose, with just the same countenance with which he had passed under the yoke, and delivered himself to this effect:

"Consuls, doubtless I am to be called up, first, with marked ignominy, not with honor; and am ordered to speak, not as being a senator, but as a person who has to answer for an unsuccessful war and disgraceful peace. However, the question, propounded by you, is not concerning our guilt or our punishment. Waving, therefore, a defence, which would not be very difficult, before men who are not unacquainted with the casualties to which mankind are subject, I shall briefly state my opinion, on the matter in question; which opinion will testify, whether I was actuated by tenderness to myself or to your legions, when I engaged, as surety, to the convention, be it of what kind it may, whether dishonorable or necessary: by which, however, the Roman people are not bound, inasmuch as it was concluded without their order; nor is any thing liable to be forfeited to the Samnites, in consequence of it, except our persons. Let us, then, be delivered up to them, by the heralds, naked, and in chains. Let us free the people of the religious obligation, if we have bound them under any such; so that there may be no restriction, Divine or human, to prevent your entering on the war, anew, without violating the maxims of religion and justice.

"I am also of opinion, that the consuls, in the mean

time, enlist, arm, and lead out, an army ; but that they should not enter the enemy's territories, before every particular, respecting the surrender of us, be regularly executed. And, O immortal gods ! I pray and beseech you, that, although it has not been your will that Spurius Postumius and Titus Veturius, in the office of consuls, should wage war, with success, against the Samnites, you may yet deem it sufficient to have seen us under the yoke ; to have seen us bound under an infamous convention ; to have seen us shackled, and delivered into the hands of our foes, taking on our heads the whole weight of the enemy's resentment. And grant, that the consuls and legions of Rome may meet the same fortune, in war against the Samnites, which has attended them in every war, before we became consuls."

On his concluding this speech, men's minds were so impressed with admiration and compassion, that they could scarce believe him to be the same Spurius Postumius who had been the author of so shameful a peace ; lamenting, at the same time, that such a man was likely to undergo, among the enemy, a punishment, even beyond that of others, through the desire of annulling the peace. All the members, showing tenderness towards him, expressed their approbation of his sentiments, when Lucius Livius and Quintus Mælius, being tribunes of the commons, attempted, for a time, to stop the proceeding, by a protest ; insisting, that "the people could not be acquitted of the religious obligation, from the consuls being given up, unless all things were restored to the same state in which they had been, at Caudium ; nor had they, themselves, deserved any punishment, for having, by becoming sureties to the peace, preserved the army of the Roman people ; nor, finally, could they, being sacred and inviolable, be surrendered to the enemy, or treated with violence."

To this, Postumius replied : "In the mean time, surrender us as unsanctified persons, which you may do, without offence to religion ; those sacred and inviolable personages, the tribunes, you will deliver up, as soon as they go out of office. But, if you listen to me, they will

be first scourged, with rods, here in the Comitium, by way of interest for the punishment, on account of the delay of payment: for, as to their denying that the people are acquitted of the religious obligation, by our being given up, who is there, so ignorant of the laws of the heralds, as not to know, that those men speak in that manner to prevent themselves from being surrendered, rather than because the case is really so? Still, I do not deny, conscript fathers, that compacts, on sureties given, are as sacred as treaties, in the eyes of all who regard faith between men with the same reverence which is paid to duties respecting the gods; but I insist, that, without the order of the people, nothing can be ratified, that is to bind the people.

"Suppose, that, out of the same arrogance with which the Samnites forced from us the convention in question, they had compelled us to repeat the established form of words for the surrendering of cities, would you, tribunes, say that the Roman people had surrendered? and that this city, these temples and consecrated grounds, these lands and waters, have become the property of the Samnites? I say no more of the surrender, because our having become sureties is the point insisted on. Now, suppose we had become sureties, that the Roman people should quit this city; that they should set it on fire; that they should have no magistrates, no senate, no laws; that they should in future be ruled by kings: the gods forbid, you say. But the enormity of the articles lessens not the obligation of a compact. If the people can be bound, in any one instance, they can in all. Nor is there any importance, in another circumstance, which weighs, perhaps, with some: whether a consul, a dictator, or a prætor, be the surety. And this, indeed, was the judgement, even of the Samnites themselves, who were satisfied with the security of the consuls, but compelled the lieutenant-generals, quæstors, and military tribunes, to join them.

"Let it not, then, be demanded of me, why I entered into such a compact, when no such power was lodged in a consul, and when I could not, either to them in-

sure peace, of which I could not command the ratification ; or, in behalf of you, who had given me no powers. Conscript fathers, none of the transactions at Caudium were directed by human wisdom. The immortal gods deprived of understanding, both your generals and those of the enemy. On the one side, we acted not with sufficient caution ; on the other, they threw away a victory, which, by our folly, they had obtained, while they hardly confided in the places, by means of which they had conquered ; but were in haste, on any terms, to take arms out of the hands of men who were born to arms. Had their reason been sound, would it have been difficult, during the time which they spent in sending for old men from home to give them advice, to send ambassadors to Rome, and to negotiate a peace and treaty with the senate and with the people ? It would have been a journey of only three days, to expeditious travellers. In the interim, matters might have rested under a truce, that is, until their ambassadors should have brought from Rome either certain victory or peace. That would have been really a compact, on the faith of sureties, for we should have become sureties, by order of the people. But neither would you have passed such an order, nor should we have pledged our faith ; nor was it the will of fate, that the affair should have any other issue, than that they should be vainly mocked with a dream, as it were, of greater prosperity than their minds were capable of comprehending, and that the same fortune which had entangled our army, should effectuate its deliverance ; that an ineffectual victory should be succeeded by a more effectual peace ; and that a convention, on the faith of a surety, should be introduced, which bound no other person besides the surety : for what part had you, conscript fathers ? what part had the people, in this affair ? Who can call on you ? Who can say, that he has been deceived by you ? Can the enemy ? Can a citizen ? To the enemy, you engaged nothing. You ordered no citizen to engage on your behalf. You are therefore no way concerned, either with us, to whom you gave no commission ; nor with the Samnites, with whom you trans-

acted no business. We are sureties to the Samnites; debtors, whose abilities are sufficiently extensive over that which is our own, over that which we can offer,—our bodies and our minds. On these, let them exercise their cruelty; against these, let them whet their resentment and their swords. As to what relates to the tribunes, you will consider, whether the delivering them up can be immediately effected, or if it must be deferred to another day. Meanwhile, let us, Titus Veturius and the rest concerned, offer our worthless persons as atonements for the non-performance of our engagements, and, by our sufferings, liberate the Roman armies."

These arguments, and still more, the person by whom they were delivered, powerfully affected the senators; as they did, likewise, every one, not excepting even the tribunes of the commons, who declared that they would be directed by the senate. They then instantly resigned their office, and were delivered, together with the rest, to the heralds, to be conducted to Caudium.

On passing this decree of the senate, it seemed as if some new light had shone on the state. Postumius was in every mouth; they extolled him to heaven; and pronounced him to have equalled in glory even the consul Publius Decius, who devoted himself. "Through his counsel and exertions," they said, "the Republic had raised up its head, after being sunk in an ignominious peace. He now offered himself to the enemy's rage, and to torments, and was suffering, in atonement for the Roman people."

All turned their thoughts towards arms and war, and the general cry was, "When shall we be permitted, with arms in our hands, to meet the Samnites?" While the state glowed with resentment and rancor, the levies were composed almost entirely of volunteers. Legions, composed of the former soldiers, were quickly formed, and an army marched to Caudium. The heralds, who went before, on coming to the gate, ordered the sureties of the peace to be stripped of their clothes, and their hands to be tied behind their backs. As the apparitor, out of respect to

his dignity, was binding Postumius, in a loose manner, "Nay," said he, "draw the cord tight, that the surrender may be regularly performed." Then, when they came into the assembly of the Samnites, and to the tribunal of Pontius, Aulus Cornelius Arvina, a herald, pronounced these words: "Forasmuch as these men, here present, without orders from the Roman people, the Quirites, entered into surety that a treaty should be made, whereby they have rendered themselves criminal; now, in order that the Roman people may be freed from the crime of impiety, I here surrender these men into your hands."

On the herald saying thus, Postumius gave him a stroke on the thigh with his knee, as forcibly as he could, and said, with a loud voice, that "he was now a citizen of Samnium, the other, a Roman ambassador; that the herald had been by him violently ill-treated, contrary to the law of nations; and that the people he represented would therefore have the more justice on their side, in the war which they were about to wage."

Pontius then said, "Neither will I accept such a surrender, nor will the Samnites deem it valid. Spurius Postumius, if you believe that there are gods, why do you not undo all that has been done, or fulfil your agreement? The Samnite nation is entitled, either to all the men whom it had in its power, or, instead of them, to a peace. But why do I make a demand on you, who, with as much regard to faith as you are able to show, return yourself a prisoner into the hands of the conqueror? I make the demand on the Roman people. If they are dissatisfied with the convention made at the Caudine forks, let them replace the legions within the defile, where they were pent up. Let there be no deception, on either side. Let all that has been done, pass as nothing. Let them receive, again, the arms which they surrendered, by the convention: let them return into their camp. Whatever they were in possession of, the day before the conference, let them possess again. Then, let war and resolute counsels be adopted. Then, let the convention and peace be rejected. Let us carry on the war, in the

same circumstances and situations in which we were, before peace was mentioned. Let neither the Roman people blame the convention of the consuls, nor us, the faith of the Roman people. Will you never want an excuse for violating the compacts which you make, on being defeated? You gave hostages to Porsena: you clandestinely got them back. You ransomed your state from the Gauls, for gold: while they were receiving the gold, they were put to the sword. You concluded a peace with us, on condition of our restoring your captured legions: that peace you now annul. In fine, you always spread over your fraudulent conduct some show of right.

"Do the Roman people disapprove of their legions being saved by an ignominious peace? Let them take back their peace, and return the captured legions to the conqueror. This would be conduct consistent with faith, with treaties, and with the laws of the heralds. But that you should, in consequence of the convention, obtain what you desired, the safety of so many of your countrymen, while I obtain not what I stipulated for, on sending you back those men, a peace; is this the law, which you, Aulus Cornelius, which you, heralds, prescribe to nations? But, for my part, I neither accept those men, whom you pretend to surrender, nor consider them as surrendered; nor do I hinder them from returning into their own country, which stands bound, under an actual convention, carrying with them the wrath of all the gods, whose authority is thus despised. Wage war, since Spurius Postumius has just now struck with his knee the herald, in character of ambassador. The gods are to believe that Postumius is a citizen of Samnium, not of Rome; and that a Roman ambassador has been violated by a Samnite; and that, therefore, you have just grounds for a war against us. That men of years and of consular dignity should not be ashamed to exhibit such mockery of religion, in the face of day! and should have recourse to such shallow artifices to palliate their breach of faith, as not even children would allow themselves! Go, lictor, take off the bonds from those Romans.

Let no one hinder them to depart, when they think proper."

Accordingly, they returned, unhurt, from Caudium to the Roman camp, having acquitted certainly their own faith, and perhaps that of the public.

IMPEACHMENT OF PUBLIUS CORNELIUS SCIPIO, SURNAMED AFRICANUS, AND OF LUCIUS CORNELIUS SCIPIO, SURNAMED ASIATICUS.

BY LIVY.

Livy, or Titus Livius, a Roman historian, was born in Padua, about sixty years before Christ. He removed to Rome, where he wrote, at least, by far the greater part of his Work.

The impeachment of the Scipios, for embezzlement of public money, took place in the year 565, after the building of Rome, or in the year 187, before the birth of Christ; consequently, about a century and a half before Livy wrote its account. The following extract is from the translation of George Baker.

The two Petilii, as Valerius Antias writes, instituted a prosecution against Publius Scipio Africanus. This proceeding was variously construed, according to people's different dispositions; some blamed, not the plebeian tribunes, but the public in general, that could suffer such a process to be carried on. They observed, that "the two greatest States in the world proved, nearly at the same time, ungrateful to their chief commanders: but Rome, the more ungrateful of the two, because Carthage was subdued, when she sent the vanquished Hannibal into exile; whereas Rome, when victorious, was for banishing Africanus, who procured her the victory." Others asserted, that "no one citizen ought to stand so high above the rest, as not to be made answerable to the laws, for his conduct; for nothing contributed so much towards maintaining the equipoise of liberty, as that the most powerful might be brought to trial. For how could any charge, especially the administration of government, be safely intrusted to any man, if he were not liable to be called to

an account? If there were any, who could not endure an equality of rights, against such, force might justly be employed." Such were the common topics of conversation, until the day of trial came. Never was either any other person, or Scipio himself, when Consul or Censor, escorted to the forum by more numerous multitudes, of all kinds, than he was, on that day, when he appeared to answer to the charge against him. When ordered to make his defence, without taking any notice of the facts laid to his charge, he delivered a speech, in which he set forth his own exploits in such splendid terms, that it was universally agreed, that no man's praises had been ever represented, either to more advantage or with more truth: for he spoke with the same ardent spirit and powerful genius, which had ever animated his conduct in discharging the duties of his office; nor did his speech excite any disgust in the hearers, as it arose from the peril of his situation, not from motives of ostentation.

The plebeian tribunes, in order to procure credit to their present accusations, introduced the old imputations, of his luxurious style of living, in his Winter-quarters at Syracuse, and the tumult raised by Pleminius, at Locri. They then brought forward, against him, the charge of receiving money, which they grounded on suspicions, not on proofs. They alleged, that "his son, being taken prisoner, was restored without ransom; and that, in every other instance, Antiochus paid his court to him, as if peace and war with Rome were at his sole disposal. He had acted towards the Consul, in his Province, as Dictator, not as lieutenant-general; nor had he gone thither with any other view, than to propagate in Greece and Asia, and among all the kings and nations eastward, the same opinion, which, at the same time, prevailed in Spain, Gaul, Sicily, and Africa, that he, alone, was the head and pillar of the Roman empire; that a State, which was mistress of the world, lay sheltered under the shade of Scipio; and that his nods were equivalent to decrees of the Senate, and orders of the people." Finding him invulnerable, against all attacks on his honor, they assailed him with the shafts of envy. The pleading having lasted

till night, the trial was adjourned to another day. When that came, the tribunes took their seat in the rostrum, at the dawn of day. The accused, being summoned, came, with a numerous train of friends and dependants, through the middle of the assembly, to the rostrum; and, silence being made, he said, "Tribunes of the people, and you, Romans: this day is the anniversary, on which I fought a pitched battle in Africa, with Hannibal and the Carthaginians, and found good fortune and success. As, therefore, it is but decent, that a stop be put, for this day, to litigation and wrangling, I will immediately go to the Capitol, there to return my acknowledgements to Jupiter, supremely good and great; to Juno, Minerva, and the other deities presiding over the Capitol and citadel, and will give them thanks, for having, on this day, and at many other times, endowed me both with the will and ability to perform extraordinary services to the Commonwealth. Such of you, also, Romans, as can, conveniently, come with me, and beseech the gods, that you may have commanders like myself; since, from my seventeenth year to old age, you have always anticipated my years with honors, and I, your honors with services." Accordingly, he went up from the rostrum to the Capitol; and, at the same time, the whole assembly turned about, and followed him; insomuch, that, at last, even the clerks and messengers left the tribunes, not one remaining, except the slaves who attended them, and the crier, whose office it was to summon those who were under prosecution. Scipio, attended by the whole body of the Roman people, went round all the temples of the gods, not only in the Capitol, but throughout the whole city. This day afforded more ample testimony of the favor of the public, and a clearer estimate of his real greatness, than that on which he rode through Rome, in triumph over King Syphax and the Carthaginians.

It was, however, the last day that shone with lustre on Publius Scipio: for, as he could foresee nothing but the prosecutions of envy, and continual disputes with the tribunes, before the time, to which the hearing of the cause was adjourned, he retired to Liternum, with a fixed deter-

mination not to attend the trial. His natural temper and spirit was so lofty, and he had been habituated to such an elevated course of fortune, that he did not know how to act the part of an accused person, or stoop to the humble deportment of such a state. When the day came, on his not appearing, he was called by the crier, and Lucius Scipio offered, as an excuse, that his absence was caused by sickness. This excuse, the tribunes, who were the prosecutors, would not admit; but insisted, that his not coming to answer the charges against him, was owing to the same arrogance, with which he had left the trial, the tribunes of the people, and the general assembly; and, dragging after him, like prisoners, the very men whom he had robbed of the right of passing sentence on him, together with their freedom of suffrage, had exhibited a triumph over the Roman people, and made a secession, the same day, from the tribunes to the Capitol. "You have, therefore," said they, "the due reward of that thoughtless conduct. You are, yourselves, forsaken by him, under whose lead and direction you forsook us. And, so much is the Roman spirit daily on the decline, that, although, seventeen years ago, when he was at the head of an army and fleet, we had resolution enough to send plebeian tribunes, and an edile, into Sicily, to take him into custody, and bring him home to Rome; yet we dare not now, when he is a private citizen, send to compel him to come from his country-seat, to stand his trial." Lucius Scipio appealing to the tribunes of the commons, they came to this determination, that, "as sickness had been pleaded in his excuse, it was their judgement, that this excuse should be admitted, and that their colleagues should adjourn the hearing of the cause."

Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus was, at that time, a plebeian tribune; and between him and Publius Scipio, there was an enmity subsisting. He had forbidden his name to be subscribed to the determination of his colleague, and every one expected from him a sentence more severe, when he pronounced his judgement thus: that, "Inasmuch as Lucius Scipio had pleaded sickness, in excuse for his brother, that plea appeared to him to be

sufficient ; that he would not suffer any further proceeding against Publius Scipio, until he should return to Rome ; and even then, if he appealed to him, he would support him, in refusing to abide a trial : that Publius Scipio, by his great achievements, by the honors received from the Roman people, by the joint consent of gods and men, had risen to such a height of dignity, that, were he to stand as a criminal under the rostrum, and be obliged to listen to the opprobrious language of youthful petulance, it would reflect more disgrace on the Romans, than on him." He added, with much indignation, " Shall Scipio, the celebrated conqueror of Africa, stand at the feet of you, tribunes ? Was it for this, he defeated and routed, in Spain, four of the most distinguished generals of the Carthaginians, and their four armies ? Was it for this, he took Syphax prisoner, conquered Hannibal, made Carthage tributary to you, and removed Antiochus beyond Mount Taurus ; (in the glory of which, by the way, Lucius Scipio was associated with his brother, as partner ;) that he should crouch under two Petilii ? that they should gain the palm of victory over Publius Africanus ? Will men of illustrious characters never, through their own merits, or through public honors, arrive at a safe and inviolable sanctuary, where their old age may repose, if not revered, at least secure from injury ?" Both his determination and subsequent discourse made a deep impression, not only on the rest of the assembly, but even on the prosecutors ; who said, that they would consider further, what might be consistent with their rights and duties. As soon as the assembly of the people broke up, the Senate met, and there, the warmest thanks were bestowed by the whole body, especially by the consular and elder members, on Tiberius Gracchus, for having consulted the public good in preference to private animosity ; while the severest reproaches were thrown on the Petilii, for having attempted to bring themselves into notice, by exciting the displeasure of the public against Africanus, and for seeking to gather spoils from a triumph over him. After that, Africanus was no more mentioned. He passed the remainder of his life at Liternum, without a wish to revisit

the city ; and it is said, that, when he was dying, he ordered his body to be buried at his own country-seat, and his monument to be erected there, that even his funeral should not be performed in his ungrateful country. He was a man of eminent merit ; but that merit was more conspicuous in affairs of war, than in those of peace. The former part of his life was more illustrious, than the latter ; because, in his early years, he was continually employed in military commands. As he advanced to old age, the lustre of his conduct was somewhat faded, as occasions did not occur to call forth the exercise of his talents. His second consulship, even if we add to it the censorship, was far from being equally brilliant with the first. Nor can we compare with it, his commission in Asia, rendered useless by want of health, and clouded by the misfortune of his son, and the necessity which it brought him under, after his return, of either undergoing a trial, or withdrawing himself from that and his country together. However, he enjoyed, alone, the distinguished honor of putting an end to the Carthaginian war, by far the most difficult and dangerous one which the Roman State was ever engaged in.

The death of Africanus increased the courage of his enemies, the chief of whom was Marcus Porcius Cato, who, even during his life, allowed himself to sneer at his splendid character. It was thought, that it was he who instigated the Petilii, both to commence the action against Africanus, and to propose an order respecting him, after his death. The motion for the order was made in these words : " Romans, is it your will to order, with respect to the money taken, carried off, and collected, from King Antiochus, and those under his government, and with respect to such part thereof, as has not been accounted for to the public, that Servius Sulpicius, the city pretor, shall ask the Senate, which of the present pretors they will appoint, to hold an inquiry concerning those matters ?" This motion was at first objected to, by Quintus and Lucius Mummius, who declared, as their opinion, that, according to the practice always hitherto observed, the Senate should make the inquiry concerning money unaccount-

ed for to the public. The Petilii, in opposition, represented the great influence, the sovereign power, which the Scipios possessed in the Senate. Lucius Furius Purpureo, a senator of consular rank, who had been one of the ten ambassadors in Asia, was of opinion, that the inquiry ought to be carried to a wider extent; not only as to the money taken from Antiochus, but to what had been taken from other kings and nations. This blow he aimed at his enemy, Cneius Manlius. Lucius Scipio, who, as every one knew, was arguing rather in favor of himself than against the order, stood forward to oppose it. He complained, heavily, of such a motion being brought on, after the death of his brother, Publius Africanus, the bravest and most illustrous of men. For, it had not been deemed sufficient, that no panegyric was pronounced from the rostrum on Africanus, after his death, but accusations of misconduct were also exhibited against him. The Carthaginians had been content with the banishment of Hannibal; but the Roman people would not be satisfied, even with the death of Publius Scipio, unless, after he was laid in his grave, his character were mangled, and his brother also sacrificed, another victim to envy. Marcus Cato supported the motion, in a speech, on the money of King Antiochus, which is still extant; and, by his influence, prevailed on the Mummii, the two tribunes, to drop their opposition to the order. On their withdrawing their intended protest, every one of the tribes voted in favor of the motion.

Servius Sulpicius then put the question to the Senate, whom they would appoint, according to the Petilian order of the people, to hold the inquiry; and they appointed Quintus Terentius Culeo. This pretor was so warmly attached to the Cornelian family, that, according to the account of those writers, who say that Publius Scipio died and was buried at Rome, (for that, too, is asserted,) he had walked at his funeral, before the bier, with a cap of liberty on his head, as he had done, before, at his triumph; and that, at the Capuan gate, he gave wine and honey to those who attended the obsequies, to show his gratitude for having been recovered by Scipio, among

other captives, out of the hands of the enemy, in Africa; while others say, he was so great an enemy to that family, that, on account of his known animosity, the faction that supported the proceedings against the Scipios, singled out him, particularly, to hold the inquiry. However that may be, whether he was too favorable, or too much the contrary; before him, Lucius Scipio was immediately arraigned. At the same time, charges were presented and received, against his lieutenants-general, the two Hostilius Catos, Aulus and Lucius, and his questor, Caius Furius Aculeo; and, that it might seem as if every one had been infected with the contagion of peculation, against his two secretaries and crier, Lucius Hostilius. The secretaries and the crier were acquitted, before Scipio was tried. Scipio, and Aulus Hostilius, lieutenant-general, and Caius Furius, were convicted, and judgement was pronounced that, "as bribes, for granting more favorable terms of peace to Antiochus, Scipio had received, over and above what he brought into the treasury, six thousand pounds weight of gold, and four hundred and eighty of silver; Aulus Hostilius, eighty pounds of gold, and four hundred and three of silver; and Furius, the questor, one hundred and thirty of gold, and two hundred of silver." These sums of gold and silver, I find mentioned by Antias. As to what regards Lucius Scipio, I suspect some mistake of the transcriber, rather than a falsehood of the historian, respecting the amount of gold and silver; for it is more probable, that the weight of silver was greater than that of gold, and that the fine was laid at four millions,* than at twenty-four millions of sesterces.† And this I am the more inclined to believe, as it is recorded, that particulars of that sum being demanded from Publius Scipio, himself, in the Senate, he desired his brother Lucius to bring the book which contained them, and which he took and tore to pieces before their eyes; at the same time, expressing indignation, at being called to an account for four millions, after he had brought two hundred millions‡ into the treasury. From

* £3229 13*s.* 4*d.* † £193,750. ‡ £1,614,583 6*s.* 8*d.*

the same magnanimity of spirit, when the questors would not venture to bring money out of the coffers, contrary to law, he demanded the keys of the treasury, declaring, that he would open it, as he had caused it to be shut.

There are so many contradictory accounts, respecting the latter part, particularly, of Scipio's life,—of his trial, death, funeral, and sepulchre, that I cannot determine which tradition, or which writings, I ought to credit. Writers do not agree, as to his accuser; some affirming that Marcus Nævius, others, that the Petilii, instituted the prosecution; neither are they agreed, as to the time when it was carried on, nor the year in which he died, nor the place, nor where he was buried. Some assert, that he died, and was buried, at Rome; others, at Liternum; and in both places, memorials of him are shown; for, at Liternum there was a monument, and on it stood his statue, which was lately seen lying on the ground, where it had been thrown down by a storm. At Rome, is likewise a monument of the Scipios; and, outside the Capuan gate, are three statues, two of which are said to be those of Publius and Lucius Scipio, and the third, that of the poet Quintus Ennius. Nor do these differences subsist between historians, only; the speeches attributed to Publius Scipio and Tiberius Gracchus, if they really are theirs, differ widely from one another. In the title of Publius Scipio's speech, is the name of Marcus Nævius, plebeian tribune; but in the speech, itself, the prosecutor is not named; it only calls him, sometimes a knave, sometimes a trifler. Even the speech of Gracchus makes no mention of the Petiliuses accusing Africanus, or of the prosecution carried on against him. The whole story must be framed after another model, to make it consistent with the speech of Gracchus; and those writers must be followed, who affirm, that, at the time when Lucius Scipio was impeached, and convicted of having taken money from the king, Africanus was a lieutenant-general in Etruria; whence, on hearing of this misfortune, throwing up his commission, he hastened to Rome, proceeding straight from the gate to the forum. Being told that Lucius had been ordered into confinement, he drove away

the officer from his person ; and, on the tribunes attempting to detain him, laid violent hands on them, showing more affection towards his brother than regard for the laws. Of these acts, Gracchus himself complained, saying, that the tribunitian power was illegally annulled ; and, at last, when he promises support to Lucius Scipio, he adds, that the precedent would be the more tolerable, if both the tribunitian authority and the State appeared to be overpowered by a tribune of the Commons, than if by a private citizen. But, while he loaded him with reproaches, for this signal instance of intemperate violence ; while he charged him with having degenerated so far from himself ; he displayed his long-established praises for moderation, and government of his passions, in such strong terms, as to make ample amends for the present reprehension : for he said, that Scipio formerly rebuked the people, severely, for their intention of making him perpetual consul and dictator ; that he hindered statues to be erected to him, in the comitium, in the rostrum, in the Senate-house, in the Capitol, in the chapel of Jupiter's temple ; and, that he prevented a decree being passed, ordering his image, in a triumphal habit, to be brought in procession, out of the temple of Jupiter, supremely good and great. Such particulars as these, even if inserted in a professed panegyric, would demonstrate an uncommon greatness of mind, in restraining honors conformably to the temper of a constitution founded on an equality of rights ; but, here, they are acknowledged by an enemy, and at the very time that he was employed in censuring him.

It is universally agreed, that the younger of Scipio's two daughters was married to this Gracchus ; for the elder was, undoubtedly, disposed of by her father to Publius Cornelius Nasica. But it is not so certain, whether she was both betrothed and married after her father's death, or whether we are to credit those accounts, which say, that, when the officers were taking Scipio to prison, and no other of the tribunes interfered to protect him, Gracchus swore, that "the same enmity which he had entertained against the Scipios still subsisted ; and that he did

not, by any act of his, seek to gain their favor. But that, having seen Publius Africanus leading the kings and generals of enemies to prison, he would never suffer his brother to be led to the same place." They add, that the senators, happening to sup, that day, in the Capitol, rose up together, and requested of Africanus, before the company departed, to contract his daughter to Gracchus; that the contract was accordingly executed, in due form, in the presence of this assembly; and that Scipio, on his return home, told his wife Æmilia, that he had concluded a match for her younger daughter: that she, feeling her female pride hurt, expressed some resentment, on not having been consulted in the disposal of their common child; and added, that, even were he giving her to Tiberius Gracchus, her mother ought not to be kept in ignorance of his intention: to which Scipio, rejoiced at her judgement concurring so entirely with his own, replied, that Gracchus was the man he had betrothed her to. These circumstances respecting so great a captain, though variously represented, both in traditionary and written relation, I thought not fit to be passed over in silence.

On the proceedings being finished by the pretor Quintius Terentius, Hostilius and Furius were condemned, and gave securities, the same day, to the city questors. Scipio insisted, that all the money received by him was in the treasury, and that he had not in his possession any thing, whatsoever, belonging to the public; on which he was ordered to prison. Publius Scipio Nasica then appealed to the tribunes, and made a speech, fraught with just encomiums, not only on the Cornelian family, in general, but on his own branch of it, in particular. "His father," he said, "and the father of Publius Africanus and Lucius Scipio, who was now ordered to prison, were Cneius and Publius Scipio, men of the most illustrious characters; who, by their conduct in war, through a long course of years, against many commanders and many armies of the Carthaginians and Spaniards, highly enhanced the reputation of the Roman name, in the land of Spain; and that, not only by their military exploits, but also by exhibiting to the nations of that country, shining exam-

ples of Roman moderation and fidelity; both, at last, meeting their death in the service of the Roman people. Although their descendants might have contented themselves with supporting the glory derived from them, yet Publius Africanus so far surpassed his father's renown, as to occasion a belief, that he was not born of the human race, but was of divine extraction. As to Lucius Scipio, the person then concerned, (to pass over his exploits in Spain and in Africa, while he acted as lieutenant-general to his brother,) on his being elected Consul, so high did he stand in the estimation of the Senate, that they thought proper to assign to him the province of Asia, and the war with Antiochus, by a special order, without leaving it to the decision of the lots; while, in that of his brother, after having been honored with two consulships, the censorship, and a triumph, he thought fit to attend him into Asia, in quality of lieutenant-general. There, that the great and splendid character of the lieutenant might not eclipse the fame of the Consul, it so happened, that, on the day when Lucius Scipio conquered Antiochus in a pitched battle, at Magnesia, Publius Scipio was absent, at the distance of several days' journey, being detained by sickness at Elæa. The army of the enemy, on that occasion, was not inferior to that of Hannibal, when the battle was fought with him in Africa; and the same Hannibal, who was commander-in-chief in the Carthaginian war, was one, among many other generals, then present, on the king's side. The war, indeed, was so conducted, that no one could throw blame even on fortune. A ground of accusation is sought for, in the peace, and people say, that it was sold. This charge is as applicable to the ten ambassadors, in pursuance of whose counsel the peace was concluded. Some of the ten ambassadors had even stood forth as accusers of Cneius Manlius; yet their charges were so far from gaining credit, that they did not produce even a delay of his triumph.

"But, truly, the very articles of the peace afford grounds of suspicion; respecting Scipio, as being too favorable to Antiochus; for his entire kingdom has been left to him. Although conquered, he retains possession of every

thing that belonged to him, before the war; and, though he had an immense quantity of gold and silver, none of it has been applied to the use of the public: all has been converted to private purposes. Now, was there not a larger quantity of gold and silver carried before the eyes of the public, in the triumph of Lucius Scipio, than in ten other triumphs taken together? Why need I speak of the extent of the kingdom of Antiochus, or mention his having been in possession of all Asia, and the adjoining parts of Europe? Every body knows, what a large portion of the surface of the earth that is, which stretches from Mount Taurus quite to the Ægean sea; what a number, not only of cities, but of nations, it comprehends; and that this tract, as far as the summit of the said mount, more than thirty days' journey in length, and ten in breadth, from one sea to the other, has been taken from Antiochus, who is, thereby, removed to the most distant corner of the world? Now, if peace had been granted him without any pecuniary consideration, could more have been taken from him? Macedonia was left to Philip, after he was conquered; Lacedæmon to Nabis; yet Quintius was never accused, on that account. The reason was, that he had not Africanus for a brother, whose high renown ought to have been serviceable to Lucius Scipio; but, instead of that, envy of his merit had done him injury. The sentence mentioned a quantity of gold and silver being conveyed to the house of Lucius Scipio, greater than could be raised from the sale of his whole property. Where, then, was all this royal treasure; where the value of so many estates received? Surely, in a house not exhausted by extravagance, this new accumulation of wealth ought to appear. But what cannot be levied out of his effects, the enemies of Lucius Scipio will exact from his person, and from his very flesh, by vexatious persecution and insult; by shutting up a man of his illustrious character in a prison, among thieves and robbers; forcing him to breathe his last in a dungeon and in darkness, and then throwing his naked corpse before the prison door. Such proceedings will reflect more disgrace on the city of Rome than they will on the Cornelian family."

In answer to this, the pretor Terentius read the Petilian order of the people, the decree of the Senate, and the judgement pronounced against Lucius Scipio; and declared, that, unless the money adjudged were paid into the public treasury, he had no other step to take, than to order the person convicted to be taken into custody, and carried to prison. The tribunes retired, to confer together, and, in a short time after, Caius Fannius, in behalf of himself and all his colleagues, except Gracchus, declared, that the tribunes would not interfere with the pretor, to hinder his making use of his power. Tiberius Gracchus pronounced his determination thus: "That he would not protest against the pretor's levying the sum adjudged, out of the effects of Lucius Scipio, but that Lucius Scipio, who had subdued the most powerful king in the world, had extended the empire of the Roman people to the utmost limits of the earth, had bound under obligations to the Roman people King Eumenes, the Rhodians, and so many other states of Asia, and had led in triumph so many generals of the enemies, should lie in prison, among the enemies of the Roman people, and in chains, he never would suffer; and, therefore, he ordered him to be discharged." This decision was heard with such approbation; so happy were the people at seeing Lucius Scipio at liberty; that it could hardly be supposed, that the sentence had been passed in the same community. The pretor then sent the questors to take possession of Lucius Scipio's property, for the use of the public. But, so far from any trace appearing, of money received from the king, the sale did not produce near as much as the sum in which he was fined. So large a contribution was made for Lucius Scipio by his relations, friends, and dependants, that, if he had accepted it, he would have been much richer, than before this misfortune; but he would receive nothing. Such things, as were necessary for his family occasions, were purchased for him, at the sale, by his nearest relations; and the public hatred, which had been pointed against the Scipios, reverted on the pretor, his accessors, and the accusers.

DELIVERY OF THE FOUR SWISS FOREST DISTRICTS, (WALDSTALLE.)

TAKEN FROM TSCHUDI'S SWISS CHRONICLE.

Aegidius Tschudi, (pronounced *Chudi,*) was born at Glarus, in Switzerland, in 1505, and of good family. He pursued a regular course of studies in his native country, and afterwards went to Paris. Protestants and Roman Catholics, among his countrymen, esteemed him alike, and intrusted him with important employments. He was chosen Landamman, or chief magistrate of Glarus, and died in 1572. His Swiss Chronicle is one of the most distinguished works of the kind. He collected, with unabated zeal, from all sources accessible to him, among which the archives of his country were the most important. His work was published only as far as the year 1470, although he had collected manuscripts for the history of one more century. The title of the work is 'Aegidii Tschudii Landamman of Glarus, Chronicon Helveticum ; or, Accurate Description of the most Remarkable Events in the Holy Roman Empire, as well as, in particular, in the Honorable (Swiss) Confederacy, and neighboring Places. The whole collected from authentic Letters and Documents, &c., in the chief Archives of the Honorable Confederacy. Edited by R. Irelin.' Tschudi's Chronicle is written in the Swiss dialect of German.

Albert, the son of the German Emperor, Rudolph of Hapsburg, desired to erect a new dukedom in Helvetia, or Switzerland, which should depend upon his family, so that all the scattered domains appertaining to the family, between which the territory of the intended dukedom lay, should be more firmly united. When he had acquired the imperial crown, after the defeat of his opponent, Adolphus of Nassau, he proposed to the free inhabitants of the Swiss districts, Uri, Schwytz, and Unterwalden, to exchange their direct dependence on the Germanic empire, of which they were members, for the more powerful protection of the House of Austria, or Hapsburg. Contrary to the rights of these Swiss, Albert had appointed over them Austrian,

instead of imperial, officers. The Swiss complained, and asked for the appointment of imperial bailiffs, or landvogts. Albert did, indeed, appoint such, but in a manner greatly to harass the formerly contented mountaineers. In brief, the struggle was between Austrian power and Swiss independence. To this struggle, relates the following extract from Tschudi, Volume I., Book 4.

Anno Domini, 1304, when the districts of Uri, Schwytz, and Unterwalden, were sorely oppressed, in that the bailiffs of Lucern of Rotenburg, officers of the dukes of Austria, administered high justice with them, which now had lasted three years. The Swiss were afraid, that this beginning might end in Austrian dominion over them, as though they were subjects to Austria; especially, as some of the commissioners had dropped, when administering criminal justice, that they did so in the name of Austria, [that is, not as officers of the German empire.] The mentioned districts, therefore, saw necessary to send, once more, their earnest message to King Albert,* in order to request him to send them an imperial bailiff, who should administer justice in the name of the empire, according to ancient usage; and also respectfully to pray his royal dignity, that he would protect their imperial and regal liberties and ancient customs. They would not pray for their confirmation, since, on former occasions, it had always been in vain.

When this request was made, the King became angry, because he saw, that, neither by good words, kindness, nor intrigues, he had succeeded in making them subject to his sons, the princes of Austria, or in disuniting them. He said to the messengers, "Go home, since it must be so, and you will have it; we will give you imperial bailiffs in your countries. Ye shall obey their orders, in all things, as if ourselves; and, if ye shall not do it, we shall revenge it on your lives and goods, and ye shall, henceforth, have forfeited all your privileges."

* The head of the German empire was called King, until actually crowned as Emperor. When a successor was elected, while the Emperor was yet living, he was likewise called King.

Shortly thereupon, the King sent them two landvogts, (bailiffs,) in the name of the empire, and ordered them to reside in their country, which had never been the custom.

In the year 1305, the three lands, Uri, Schwytz, and Unterwalden, sent their respectful messages to King Albert, to complain of the severity and cruelty, with which his vogts, Gessler and Landenberg, treated them, and to beg his royal Highness graciously to abolish this ill-usage, and to protect them in their liberties and customs. But the King would not hear them. Yet he allowed them to appear before his counsellors. To them, the messengers told the tyranny of the landvogts, how they oppressed the country people, for trifling causes, and frequently without any cause, or honest, just evidence, against their privileges and liberties; how they imprisoned them in towers or stocks; fined them, also; sometimes, drove them out of the country; and, many times, suffered them to rot and perish in the prisons, &c.

The royal counsellors, after having consulted, gave answer: They (the three lands) should consider, that they, themselves, had caused this severity, and had made the King ungracious, since they would not act like those of Lucern, Glarus, and others; and, if they should ever do the same, they would then, without fail, enjoy full favor from the King, and his sons, the dukes of Austria. They should now return, the King being burdened with much business; but, at a proper time, they, the counsellors, would lay their prayer before him.

With this, they were obliged to return, without any other answer; and, when they came home, it became worse than ever, the vogts beginning to be still more cruel.

In this year, (1306,) at the beginning of the fall of the leaf, the lord of Wolfenschiessen, King's bailiff in the castle of Rotzberg, in Unterwalden, below the Kernwald, rode toward Engelberg, into the convent there; and when, on the morrow, he left the convent, he found the wife of a godly countryman, called Cunrat of Baumgarten, who was of Atzelen, in a meadow, where she was at work; for Atzelen is situated below the wood, near the road from Stans to Engelberg, not far behind the village of

Wolfenschiessen, upon a rising ground. The woman was wonderfully beautiful, and the bailiff was kindled in wicked desire, on account of her beauty. So he asks the woman, where her husband was? The woman answers, that he had gone out, and was not at home. He asks, again, when he would come home. The woman was not aware, that all this conversation was on her account, but feared, that her husband might have done something, that had displeased, so that the bailiff would punish him, because he asked, so carefully, where he was; for she knew his cruel disposition; therefore, she answered, she believed he would be absent for some days, she could not say how long; (yet she knew, very well, that he was in the wood, and would be home for dinner.) When the bailiff heard this, he spoke to the woman: "Woman, I shall go home with thee, for I have to say something to thee." The woman startled, but durst not contradict him, and went with him. When there, he ordered her to prepare a bath, for that the walking had made him tired and dusty. Then the woman apprehended nothing good, and longed, in her mind, for her husband, that he might soon come from the wood, and unwillingly prepared the bath. And, when the bath was prepared, the vogt began to show his wickedness, and desired her to bathe with him. The woman trembled, for she could well see, that he meant to use violence; she prayed to God, in her heart, to protect her honor, and avert her degradation. And now she thought upon a scheme, spoke kindly with the vogt, as if she would do as he desired, and said to him, he ought to tell his servants, (of whom he had two with him,) to go away; after that, she would join him in the bath. The vogt bade the servants go away, and the woman told him to go into the bath; she, in the mean time, would prepare herself, in her room, and soon join him. The vogt did as she desired. But the woman went out of the back-door, and meant to stand there; when presently comes her husband, to whom, with tears, and a low voice, she whispers what the tyrant had intended with her, and how he was now in the bath. The honest man said, "Praised be the Lord, my pious wife, that he has protected thee, that thou hast saved thine

honor ; I 'll bless his bath, that he shall injure no more women ; for it is better that I wager my life, than that any shame should befall thee, my beloved wife. Whereupon, he quickly went into the house, and knocked the bailiff on the head, with his axe, that he died with one blow. The man fled, immediately, to Uri, where he remained in secret, although diligently pursued, on account of the shameful deed which the vogt had intended to perpetrate.

Anno Domini, 1307, there was a godly countryman in Unterwalden, above the Kernwald, who was called Henry von Melchtal, and resided in the same valley, (that is, at Melchtal) a wise, judicious, honorable, and substantial man, and well esteemed among the country folks, and always actively maintaining, that they should stick to their privileges, and not allow themselves to be separated from the empire, for which Beringer of Landenberg, landvogt over the whole of Unterwalden, was very hostile to him. This Melchtal had fine cattle ; and, for some trifling offence, which his son Arnold of Melchtal, was said to have committed, (which, however, the same denied, and, had it been true, the honestly-awarded fine could not have amounted to more than five shillings,) the landvogt sent his servants, to seize upon his finest yoke of oxen, as a fine due to him ; and should the old Henry of Melchtal object to it, the servant should answer, that it was the vogt's opinion, the peasants themselves should pull the plough, and upon this, he should seize the oxen, and bring them to him. The servant did as the master had bid him. The honest man did not like that his own should be taken from him, by force, and said, his son was not guilty, and if the vogt had any right against him, he should prove it by law, and then punish ; but the servant insisted upon having the oxen, as he had been ordered. And when he unyoked them, the son of the farmer, Arnold, (who was a young man,) kindled in wrath, and gave a blow, with a stick, over the hand of the servant, and broke one of his fingers, upon which he forthwith fled from out the land, to Uri, where he hid himself, for a long while, with one of his kinsfolks, and where Cunrat of

Atzelen was likewise concealed. The servant made great complaint to the landvogt, who sent in anger, for the youth's old father, and ordered the youth to be imprisoned. But when the youth was not to be found, for he had fled, the old man alone arrived. The landvogt addressed him, in harsh and violent words, and commanded him to bring, immediately, his son Arnold. The honest man himself did not yet know where his son was, and easily perceived, that, were he present, his life would be endangered. He answered, that, in truth, he did not know, himself, where his son was, for he had run from home immediately, and never informed him whither he meant to go. Upon this, the landvogt ordered that the old father (who was an honorable man, far advanced in years,) should lose both his eyes ; for the servant had informed him that the old man had said, he was going to take his property unjustly ; and, in addition, he took the oxen, and commanded the blind man to pay a large sum to the servant, for the broken finger. The country folks became, upon this cruel tyranny, very visibly exasperated. And when Arnold, the son, learned what had happened to his pious father, he secretly complained of it to some faithful people in Uri, and hoped, in time, to revenge the cruelty inflicted upon his father. The country people expostulated with the landvogt, that it was burdensome for them to be treated thus severely ; but the landvogt answered, that the King, whose servant he was, had ordered him to treat them thus.

At the same time, Gessler, the landvogt of Uri and Schwytz, oppressed both the nobles and the common people of these districts, as much as Landenberg did at Unterwalden ; kept them hard and severe, and obliged them to build a castle at Uri, that he, and other landvogts after him, might live there in greater safety, if there should be disturbances, and that the country might altogether be kept in better obedience. He therefore caused stone, mortar, sand, and timber, to be carried on a hill, called Salaturn, near Altdorff, the chief place, and began to execute the work ; and, when he was asked, what name he was going to give to the castle, he answered, "the name

shall be, Zwing (force or subdue) Uri under the Rod." This gave great scandal to the nobles of the land and the country people, in Uri, and this building, was a great thorn in their eyes. When he observed that they highly resented this rearing of a castle, he became enraged, and swore he would make them so soft, that he would wind them round his finger.

And, upon the day of St. Jacobi, he caused to be planted a pole near Altdorff, near the linden trees, where every one must pass ; upon this pole, he caused a hat to be placed, and proclaimed, that every one in the district, who should pass, should bow, and take off his bonnet, and show respect, as though the King himself, or some man in his place, were there present, under the penalty of limb and property. He also stationed guards, there, to watch, night and day, that no one should act to the contrary. He thought he would earn great reputation, if he should succeed in bringing into the lowest submission, this manly, gallant, and reputable, people, which had always been in high esteem with emperors, kings, princes, and lords. This insolence galled the people, still worse than the building of the castle ; yet they could not yet oppose it, on account of the King's evident great anger, and mighty power, nor could they hope to obtain mercy from him.

In those days, it so happened, that landvogt Gessler, (when he meant to go from Uri to Küssnacht to his castle,) when he rode through Schwytz, over which he was likewise landvogt, a man lived at Steinen, in Schwytz, wise, honorable, and of ancient family, called Wernherr of Stauffach, son of Rudolph of Stauffach, who had been landamman of Schwytz. This Wernherr had built a fine new house, this side the brook, near Steinen. When the landvogt came to this house, and Stauffach, who stood before it, received him friendly, and welcomed him as his lord, the landvogt asked him, whose house this was ? (though he knew very well, for he had said to others, that he would take the house.) Stauffach was aware that he asked for no good purpose, and that he harbored enmity against him, because he had always maintained, that they should not surrender to Austria, but remain

with the empire and their ancient liberties, and he had great influence with the country people. He, therefore, thus replied: "Sir, this house is my lord the King's, and yours, and mine." The landvogt said, "I am regent in the land, for my master the King, and will not allow that peasants build houses, without my permission, nor will I permit that you live so free, as though yourselves were lords; I shall show you, that I will prevent it:" upon which, he rode on. These words troubled Stauffach, much, and pierced him to the heart. Now, he was a judicious, careful man, and had a wise and ingenious wife, who soon perceived that something oppressed his mind, yet he did not open it to her. Still, she was desirous of knowing the cause, and, at length, he told her what the landvogt had said to him, and that he did not expect any thing better, than to lose, in time, his house, home, goods, and every thing. When she learned this, she said, "My dear husband, you know that many good people, in our country, complain of the tyranny of the landvogt, nor do I doubt but many honest people, in Uri and Unterwalden, feel oppressed by the cruel yoke, as we daily hear that they sorely complain. Therefore, it would be well, if some few, who confide in one another, should secretly advise together, and reflect how this tyrannical power might be thrown off, and assist and protect one another's justice, and God would not abandon you, but would aid you in bridling all this unfairness, if we implore his aid from the depth of our souls." She then asked him, whether he knew any one in Uri and Unterwalden, whom he might trust for information, and to whom he might confide his plans. He answered, "yes, I know, there, many noble people, who are attached to me, and whom I may trust." So Stauffach thought within him, that his wife's advice might not be bad, followed it, and went to Uri, where he remained some days, to listen how the common people were disposed. There he heard, from many honorable persons, great complaints against the landvogt. This rejoiced Stauffach, for he thought the plan might succeed; yet he trusted it, at this time, to one reputable and wise man, only, to Walter Furst. The landamman of Uri

praises the woman's advice, and informs him of Arnold of Melchtal, of Unterwalden, who had broken the finger of the servant sent by the landvogt of Unterwalden ; how the same continued to tarry in Uri ; but frequently, he would go in secrecy to his family, in Unterwalden, and that he was a valiant, judicious man, although young, but he might be safely trusted ; he would, by ingenuity, deserve well of this plan.

Thus, he, too, was sent for, and these three mèn, Walter Furst, of Uri, Wernherr von Stauffach, of Schwytz, and Arnold von Melchtal, of Unterwalden, agreed, that they would implore God's assistance, and would undertake this cause ; upon which, they took an oath to God and his saints ; and the following points were settled, namely, that each of them should gain and enlist such as he could of his relations, and other trustworthy people, for aid and assistance, in their league and sworn obligations, to reconquer their ancient liberty, and to expel the tyrannical landvogts and their overbearing dominion, to protect one another, by law and right, and to wager life and limb for it. Yet that, nevertheless, each country should remain in faithful obedience to the holy Roman empire, and every one do his particular duty and service, to which he was bound, be it to churches, lords, nobles, or commoners, or any other, in or out of the country, as from ancient times, so far as these did not, on their part, attempt to deprive them of their rights and liberties.

It was likewise agreed, that, if any thing should happen, which should require advice, that these three should be called together, and meet at the Mytenstein, which stands in the lake under Sewlisberg, at one of the ends called Rutlin ; and, if God should mercifully increase their union, each one should bring to that place, (Rutlin,) two, three, or more, with him, who had wisely and cautiously, likewise, taken the oath.

It was also agreed, that, by their oath, the whole should remain secret, until their league should be proclaimed in all three districts, at once.

Thus the league was first formed and sworn to, by the

three stanch men in Uri, from which the confederacy originated, and by which the country of Helvetia, (now called Switzerland,) has been brought back to its most ancient state and liberty. Upon this, Stauffach hastily returned to Schwytz, and Erni von Melchtal, with Cunrat von Baumgarten, of Atzelen, (who, likewise, immediately took the oath of the league,) went secretly together to Unterwalden, where the one did all he could, in the land above the forest, and the other, below. This happened in the Autumn.

Now, those of Uri and Schwytz would have liked to act at once, which, however, was not convenient to those of Unterwalden, on account of the two fastnesses in their country, Sarnen and Rotzberg; for they feared, that these fastnesses could not be conquered in such haste. But, if the matter could be delayed for eight weeks, until the next new-year's day, (A.D. 1308,) when it was their custom to carry a new-year's-gift to their landvogt, into the castle of Sarnen, they would then possess themselves of the castle, and, at the same time, give orders, that the castle of Rotzberg should be conquered the same day; and, upon that day, all should be up in all three districts, and expel the tyrannical vogts, with their servants. This plan pleased all; it was resolved, therefore, that all should remain secret, and nothing else should be done, if no irresistible necessity should appear; and every man, in the mean time, should suffer whatever each was capable of suffering, and should keep still, and avoid all suspicion. It was moreover agreed, that, upon the breaking out, neither the vogts, nor their soldiers, servants, nor retinue, should suffer in their lives.

Upon this, on Sunday after Othomari,* which was the eighteenth of November, an honest, pious countryman of Uri, called William Tell, (who belonged, also, to the league,) passed at Altdorff, several times, the hat upon the pole, without doing reverence, as landvogt Gessler had commanded. Of this, he was informed. He therefore, the next day, on Monday, ordered Tell before him, and asked him, why he did not obey his orders, and, to

* The day Othomari, is November the sixteenth.

the dishonor of the King or himself, would not doff his bonnet? Tell answered, "Dear sir, it happened unawares, and not from contempt: pardon me; if I had wit, I were not called Tell.* I ask for pardon; it shall not happen again." Now this Tell was a renowned shot with the crossbow; there was hardly a better one; and he had five children, who were dear to him. For these, the landvogt sent, and spoke: "Tell, which, among these children, is thy favorite?" Tell answers, "Sir, they are all alike dear to me." Then, replied the landvogt; "Well, then, thou art a good renowned shot, as I understand; thou shalt prove thine art before me, and shoot an apple from the head of one of thy children; therefore, take care that thou hittest the apple; for, if thou dost not hit it the first time, it shall cost thee thy life." Tell was surprised, and begged the landvogt, for God's sake, not to require him to do this; because it was unnatural, that he should shoot against his own dear child; that he would rather die. The landvogt said, "Thou must do it, or thou, together with thy child, must die." Tell saw, very well, that it was meant in earnest, and prayed fervently, within, to God, to protect him and his loved boy. Then he took his crossbow, drew it, placed the arrow upon it, and put another behind his jerkin. The landvogt himself placed the apple upon the head of the child, which was no older than six years. Tell shot the apple from off the head of the boy, and hurt him in no manner. When this was done, the landvogt was astonished. He praised Tell, on account of his skill, and asked him, why he had another arrow in his jerkin? Tell was afraid, and thought the question was asked for no good purpose; yet he wished to answer plausibly, and said: "It is the hunter's custom." The landvogt could perceive that Tell feared him, and said, "Tell! come! just tell me the truth, and fear nothing; thy life shall be safe; for the answer thou hast given, I will

* *Delff* means, in ancient German, stupid, connected with the English *dull; Toll* is still the German for crazy, insane. *Tell*, then, must have meant the stupid, which reminds us of *Brutus*, whose name has the same signification.

not accept; there is another meaning in this." Thereupon, William Tell said, "Well, then, sir, since you have warranted my life, I will tell you the precise truth; that I should have shot you with the other arrow, and, undoubtedly, should not have missed you." When the landvogt heard this, he replied: "So be it; I have guarantied thy life; my word shall be good; but, since I have seen thy malice against me, I will have thee taken to a place, where thou shalt lie without seeing sun or moon evermore; so that I be safe against thee." He ordered his men to take him and carry him, tied, to Flülen. He, himself, went with them, and took Tell's shooting tackle,—quiver, arrow, and bow, along with him; he meant to keep it for himself. Thus the landvogt, his servants, and Tell in fetters, went into the same boat. They meant to go to Brunnen, whence Tell was to go, by land, through Schwytz, to the landvogt's castle, called Kussnach, to end there his life, in a dark tower. His bow, arrow, and other things, were placed on the board, near the tiller.

When they came upon the lake, and had sailed up as far as Achsen, the Corner, God sent a terrible storm, that all of them expected miserably to be drowned. Now Tell was a strong man, well skilled upon the water; and one of the servants said to the landvogt, "Sir, you see your and our danger and distress of life, and that the guide of the vessel is full of fear, and not a thorough hand at sailing: Tell, however, is a powerful man, and knows how to navigate; we should make use of him in this distress." The landvogt was greatly agitated by the dangers of the water, and spoke thus to Tell: "If thou wouldst save us from these perils, I would loosen thy fetters." Tell answered, "Yes, sir, I trust, with God's aid, to be able to save ourselves." He was loosened, stood at the rudder, and sailed honestly along; yet he looked, all the time, askaunt, upon the bow and arrow, which were lying near him, while he was waiting for an opportunity to leap out of the boat. And when he came near an even place, (which, since, has received the name of Tell's plateau, and a chapel has been built there,) he thought that he

might leap on shore, and run away. So he cried to the boatmen, that they should pull well, until they were in front of that flat place, where they would be out of danger. And, when he was there, he pressed the tiller with much power, (as he was a man of great strength,) grasped his bow, and leaped on shore, pushing back the boat, and leaving them to themselves upon the waves. Tell ran toward the mountains, (for no snow had fallen yet,) through Morsath, through the land Schwytz, as far as the height, near the road between Art and Kussnach, where there is a hollow road, and copse wood above. In this, he lay hidden, for he knew that the landvogt would pass it, on horseback, to go to his castle Kussnach.

The landvogt and his people arrived at Brunnen, after much toil and danger on the lake, rode through Schwytz, and, when they approached the mentioned hollow road, Tell heard sundry plans of the landvogt against him. He, however, had drawn his bow, and pierced the landvogt with an arrow, so that he fell from the horse, dead.

Upon this, Tell ran back ; it was late, and night began to set in. On his flight, he informed Stauffacher, at Steinen, of the whole transaction, as it had happened. During the night, he went on toward Brunnen, where he was taken, by one who was likewise in the league, in a little boat, to Uri, where he also arrived, in the night which was then long. He kept himself concealed, but he informed Walter Furst and other confederates, how he had shot the landvogt, which was likewise communicated to the confederates in Unterwalden, secretly and quickly.

At the spot of the hollow way, where William Tell slew the landvogt, has been since built a chapel, which stands to this day. It was favorable to the cause, that the King, at that time, was in Lower Austria, waiting for a proper opportunity to appoint a new landvogt.

Anno Domini, 1308, on the new-year's day, or festival of the circumcision of Christ our Lord, the people of Unterwalden, who had taken the oath of the league already mentioned, considered how they could take the fastnesses of Sarnen and Rotzberg, which were very strong. There was, in the castle of Rotzberg, (which is

situated below the Kernwald, between Stans and Oedwil, upon a high hill,) a servant girl, who was betrothed to a man of Stans, who belonged to the league. They had agreed, that he should visit her in the night of new-year's eve, about midnight, and that she should let down, from her window, a cord which he showed her. The maiden was glad, for she loved the youth. When the night arrived, he secretly took twenty confederates with him. They stole to the wall of the castle, that the maiden should not see them. She bound the rope to the window sill, and let it down to the ground. The youth climbed up into the castle, and went with the maiden into a room, to converse with her, an hour or two. In the mean time, one of the confederates, after another, climbed up the rope, until all were in the castle. Quickly they took the commander and four of his people, prisoners, together with the servants, kept them in the castle, and allowed no one to go out until noon, so that no hue and cry should be given, until the castle of Sarnen were likewise taken. But they sent immediately one of their own number secretly, to Stans, to inform the confederates, there, that Rotzberg was in their power, that they might quickly inform the confederates above the forest.

Now the landvogt von Landenberg, who lived in the castle of Sarnen, above the forest, had, by force, accustomed the people to bring him presents on new-year's day, one a couple of fowls, another a capon, a hare, a kid, a lamb, a calf, or other thing, according as every one could afford it, which they were obliged to carry into the castle. About fifty confederates, therefore, had resolved, that thirty of them should, well-armed, hide themselves, before the break of day, under the castle, below the mill, in the elder-wood, and the other twenty should cut and sharpen sticks, so that pointed irons might be fixed to them, and each should carry an iron with him, in the bosom of his dress. These should carry the new-year's presents into the castle, (for no one was allowed to enter it with arms,) and when they were all entered, one of them should blow the horn. Upon this, the twenty should quickly fix the iron, and take possession of the gate ; and

so soon as those in the elder-wood should hear the horn, they should hasten up to the castle gate, to aid the others. Now, when the twenty men went with the presents to the castle, the landvogt came out, with two companions, to go to church, for it was morning, at the time the people go to the church; and, when he saw that all were unarmed, he was not afraid, trusting that they were bringing presents, and told them, to carry them into the castle, and he went on, into the church.

Soon after, the horn was heard, and the castle was taken, in the mentioned manner; all the guards and other people were taken prisoners; all the furniture was thrown out, and the castle was razed. In the same manner was Rotzberg destroyed. And when the landvogt heard the same, in the church, with his servants, they meant to take flight over the mountain, but could not, on account of the snow. They then fled toward Alpnach, down to Lucerne. They were seen, but allowed to proceed without molestation, as had been agreed; so the castle-guards and servants of Sarnen and Rotzberg were allowed to draw off, with all their property, and no harm was done them, neither to their limbs nor property, only they were obliged to leave the land. And when this was done, all the people, noble and common, young and old, above and below the Kernwald, swore a mutual oath, that they would advise and aid one another against the tyranny.

At the same time, those of Uri likewise cleared their country, and destroyed the castle which had been begun, which the tyrant Gessler would have called, 'Force Uri under the Stick;' and there, likewise, all swore, noble and common, to help and protect one another. In the same manner, things proceeded in Schwytz. There, Wernherr of Stauffach, and the confederates, destroyed the castle of Lowers in the Lower Lake. It was not in good condition; nor mounted. It had been used as a prison, in which to confine those who were tried for life. The people, there, took the same oath. All this happened in one day, on new-year's day; that was on a Monday, Anno Domini, 1308, as had been before agreed upon.

THE BATTLE AT SEMPACH, IN 1386.

BY JOHANNES VON MÜLLER.

JOHN VON MÜLLER was born in 1752, at Schaffhausen, in Switzerland, and died in 1808. The first volume of his History of the Swiss Confederacy, from which the following account of the battle of Sempach has been translated, appeared in 1780. This battle was fought on the ninth of July, 1386, between the confederated Swiss on the one side, and Austria on the other; Austria making an obstinate effort to maintain her power in Switzerland. See History of the Swiss Confederacy, Vol. ii. p. 431.

THE Duke, [of Austria,] leaving the Stein, at Baden, crossed the Rüss, and marched through the free bailiwicks, to Argan, and thence through Sursee, toward Sempach. This little town is situated about three leagues' distance from Lucerne, at the head of a lake of two leagues in length, bordered with fertile and picturesque meadows. Above the meadows, lay cornfields; and above these, rose a wood. This wood was occupied by the troops of the confederates.

On the ninth of July, they saw the enemy, a numerous force, well mounted, and in complete armor. The vassals were drawn up under their respective barons; the people of each town under their avoyer; and the companies of every noble of the different countries, each under the banner of its country. The Landsknechts, vassals, and mercenaries, served as infantry. There were no field-pieces; though some heavy blunderbusses were slowly advancing, to be used in the siege of Sempach. There were seen the lords of Argan, the bailiffs of Austria, authors of the war; Hermann Grimm of Grunenberg, from whom Rotenburg had been wrested; Thuring and John of Hallwyl, zealous, above others, for the house of Austria, in peace and war. There were the Gesslers, cherishing an inborn hatred against Switzerland; Egloff and Ulrich of

Ems, the first, the noblest knight in the wars of his time ; Kraft of Lichtenstein, with many distinguished lords from Inner Austria, under the banner of the arch-duchy, which was borne by the Lord Henry of Escheloh ; Rudolph, Count of Sulz ; Count John of Furstenberg ; Montfaucon of Mumpelgard, and many lords of Upper Burgundy. Above all the army, shone Duke Leopold of Austria, himself, now in the thirty-fifth year of his age, and in the pride of manly beauty. Magnanimous, full of courage and heroic fire, and adorned with the laurels of many a victory, he burned with revenge, and thirsted for battle.

It was the time of the harvest ; the Duke's people were reaping the corn ; the nobles galloping up to the walls [of Sempach] to taunt the burghers, with a firm resolution to beat the Swiss peasants with their own knightly force, unaided by the infantry. When the Duke espied the enemy in the upland, he forgot (if, indeed, he had ever known) that cavalry can attack with more effect upon an ascent, than on a declivity ; and he believed it necessary to dispense with cavalry, although the nobles, encumbered with their heavy armor, were ill adapted to act on foot. Well-drilled cavalry has often, by a violent and rapid shock, turned the flank of bodies of foot, broken and beaten them ; but never has heavy-armed infantry withstood an attack of infantry made from higher ground. The Duke commanded the nobles to form in the closest order ; and to this strong phalanx he gave an impenetrable and terrible front by the lances, which were of such length, that even those of the fourth line reached the front. This arrangement was almost the same as that which his grandfather had employed, successfully, against Bavarian cavalry, in the battle at the Hasenbühel. Lord John of Ochsenstein, under the Duke himself, had command of this phalanx ; while Reinhard of Wehingen, a man well skilled in the affairs of peace and war, and high in favor of the Duke, commanded the shooters. A body of fourteen hundred men, commanded by Frederick of Zollern, the black Count, and John of Oberkirch, knight, and composing, usually, the van, was on this day placed, by the Duke, in the rear ; for he was anxious that the field

should be clear before the infuriated nobles, whom he commanded in person. In thus assuming a defensive position, he was taking, with superior numbers, a course more befitting the inferior force ; but probably he was led to fight on foot, by an opinion of the knights and nobles of that age, that he who is victorious in any struggle, by superiority of equipments or by stratagem, leaves the fairest prize of valor undecided. They considered such advantage dishonorable ; and Leopold himself was rather an ornament of a gallant chivalry, through his noble virtues, than a great general, through his extensive knowledge of the art of war.

When John of Hasenberg, baron, a gray-haired warrior, who had seen the enemy's position and order, warned the exasperated nobility, that "vanity leads to no good end, and that it would be well to send word to Hans of Bonstetten, that he should hasten to join them," they considered his sage counsel to be ignoble. So, when others made timely propositions to the Duke himself, and warned him, "that battle-fields are the native soil of unforeseen emergencies ; that it was befitting a prince, to watch for the general safety, and themselves, to fight for the common cause ; and that it would be vastly more ruinous to the army to lose its head, than some of its members," he replied, at first, with a smile, but, at length, impatiently, "Shall Leopold look on, from a distance, and see his knights die for him ? Here, in my country, for my people, with you, will I conquer or perish."

The confederates stood on the wood-covered declivity. So long as the knights were mounted, they believed it difficult to resist their shock in the plain, and safer to expect the attack in their position, which they believed to be advantageous. If they were victorious, they hoped that the victory, by the encouragement it would afford the nation, would prove decisive of the whole war ; death they considered as a path to undying glory, and as an incentive to others, to avenge their loss upon the enemy. When the knights had dismounted, the confederates marched from out the wood down into the plain ; for they feared some stratagem, or sudden manœuvre, of the

more numerous force, in the country sheltered by the wood. They stood in narrow files, with short weapons, (four hundred men of Lucerne, nine hundred from the three forest districts, and about a hundred from Glarn, Zug, Gersan, Entlibuch, and Rotenburg,) under their respective banners, commanded by the avoyer of the town of Lucerne, and under the landamman of each valley. Some bore the halberds, with which their ancestors had fought at Morgarten, [December 6, 1315;] some had small boards, fastened to their left arms, instead of shields. To experienced warriors, their courage was apparent. They knelt down, and prayed to God, according to their ancient custom. The nobles closed their helmets; the Duke created knights. The sun stood high; the day was sultry.

The Swiss, after their prayer, ran, at full speed, across the field, against the enemy, with loud and animating war cry, and in the hope to break through the hostile ranks, and then to fight right and left, as they best might. But they were received by the range of shields, as by a wall, and by the projecting lances, as by a forest of iron thorns. The main body of the men of Lucerne fought with impatient fury, and strove to break a passage between the lances, up to those who held them. On the other hand, the enemy, with a fearful clang, moved on in wide-extended lines, intending to form a crescent, by which they thought to turn the flank of the Swiss. At this period, the municipal banner of Lucerne appeared, for some time, in peril, because Petermann of Gundoldingen, knight, avoyer of Lucerne, had fallen, severely wounded, and Henry of Moos, late avoyer, and Stephen of Sillinen, lord of Sillinen, and Kussnacht, his brother-in-law, had perished, with many other brave men. Then Antony of Port, a native of Milan, but residing at Flüelen, in the country of Uri, cried, with a loud voice, "Strike at the shafts, for they are hollow." This, the foremost rank did, with great and powerful exertions; and some shafts were shivered, but were immediately replaced by those behind. Antony of Port fell. The hostile lines, from the nature of their arms, and from their want of practice, were too unwieldy

to form a crescent, but, in every other respect, they stood unbroken and firm. Sixty Swiss had already been slain. They feared the sudden effect of some unperceived movement by the van-guard from the rear, or of some surprise by the troops of Bonstetten.

This moment of delay and indecision was terminated by a man from the country of Unterwalden, Arnold Strutthan of Winkelried, knight. He said to his companions, " I'll make a lane for you ;" leaped from out the ranks, called, with a loud voice, " take care of my wife and children ; faithful, dear confederates, remember my race ;" rushed upon the enemy, grasped some lances with his hands, buried them in his breast, and being a very tall and strong man, he pressed them with him to the ground, as he sank down. Instantly, his companions threw themselves over his body ; and all the hosts of the confederates, in succession, pressed on with their utmost force. The lines of the astonished enemy pressed one upon another, to receive them ; whereby, through fear, haste, horror, and heat, many lords, wounded in their armor, were suffocated ; while large bands, hastening from the forest, strengthened the forces of the Swiss.

First, fell Frederick, the bastard of Brandis, a strong man, an implacable foe ; himself, singly, as terrible as twenty ordinary men. Near him, fell Friesshard, called the tall, who had vaunted, that he, alone, would stand against the confederates. The fortune of the day turned. The servants of the nobles, who were stationed near the baggage, when they saw this, mounted, to save their lives by flight. In the mean time, the chief banner of Austria, in the hand of lord Henry of Eschenloh, sunk, and Ulrich of Ottenburg fell upon the banner of Tyrol. The former was saved by Ulrich of Aarburg, knight ; he held it aloft, and resisted bravely, yet in vain, for he fell, wounded, and crying, with his last breath, ' Retta, Austria, Retta.'* Duke Leopold now broke through the press, and received the banner from his dying hand ; once more it appeared, floating above the hosts, in the hand of the Prince, and steeped in blood. But many a

* Save ! Austria, save !

liegeman surrounded him, and prayed for his life. Already had perished the banner of the Counts of Hapsburg, in the hand of lord David of Junkerberg. Thuring of Hallwyl lay dead, with his bastard, and his uncle John; there, fell the lords of Lichtenstein, of Mörsburg, four brothers; Hermann of Escheng, between his two sons; Margrave Otto of Hochberg; lord Otho of Paris, counsellor of the Duke; Count Walleram of Thierstein; Count Peter of Aarberg; and the noble Knight Albert of Müllinen, whom the Duke greatly loved. Then Leopold, saying, "Too many a count and lord has gone with me to death; let me die an honorable death with them," escaped his friends, who were overwhelmed by grief and despair, plunged into the hostile hosts, and sought his death. The enemy had broken in, from all sides; it was with great difficulty that the avoyers of Argan held up their banners. In the throng of battle, the Duke was struck to the ground; but struggled eagerly to raise himself, again, (encumbered, as he was, with his heavy armor,) because he would not perish unrevenged. A common soldier, from Schwytz, found him in this struggle. The helpless Leopold exclaimed, "I am the Prince of Austria." This the man did not hear, or did not believe; or it appeared to him, that battle levels all dignities. When the Duke, from the effect of his wound, had soon given up the ghost, Martin Malterer, who carried the banner of Freyburg, chanced to perceive the body, in the Breisgau; he stood appalled; the banner dropped from his hand; he threw himself upon the corpse of Leopold, that it might not be soiled nor mangled, by friend or enemy; thus he awaited, and here found his death. At this spot, fought, until death, Rudolph the Harrass, lord of Schönan, master of the armor to the Duke.

The eyes of the infantry sought for the Prince, but in vain; when, suddenly, the whole force of Austria betook themselves to flight. All the nobles cried, "Our horses; bring our horses!" A distant cloud of dust indistinctly pointed out the road, along which, a faithless count, and, perhaps, Hanns of Oberkirch, had long since carried away the horses, in their own flight. Encumbered with

heavy armor, oppressed with heat, exhausted by toil and thirst, nothing remained for them, but to revenge their Prince, and, that every one should sell his life, as dearly as he might, though he could not save it. Here, the noble Knight of Ems worthily ended his heroic career. Here, Lord Otto Truchsen, of Waldburgan, met an honorable death, and Ysni inherited complete freedom. He had come hither, from Ysni, his own town, in Allgan, and promised it entire freedom, upon his death, giving up all power, whatsoever, in consideration of eight thousand pounds of pence, which sum he required to pay his soldiers. On the side of the confederates, fell Conrad, Landamman of Uri ; Attenghansen, Knight, Sigrist of Tiessebach, Landamman of the people of Unterwalden, above the Kernwald, and Conrad Grüninger, of Glaris, a brave man, (in honor of whom the men of Schwytz gave the privilege of citizenship to his son.) In the mean time, Petermann of Gundoldingen, pierced with many wounds, was bleeding to death ; one of the men of Lucerne hastened to the place where he was dying, to receive his last will ; the avoyer, far from having a thought of his private affairs, gave this answer : " Tell our fellow citizens, that they shall never allow an avoyer to remain longer than a year in office ; that this is the advice of Gundoldingen, and that he wishes them a happy government and victory." With these words, he breathed his last.

Of the enemy, moreover, fell the Lord of Hasenburg, not saved by having foreseen disaster; and, with him, John of Ochsenstein, who had derided his prudence ; Siegfried, of the house of Erloch, who was not permitted to fight, successfully, against liberty ; three of the name of Hendorf, and Albert of Hohenrechberg, whose hatred against the victors descended to his great-grandchildren. Gottfried Müller fell, also, Burkard Gessner, of Breisach, Hatstatt, Rathsamhausen, three of the name of Berenfels, and Flachsland ; and some, also, of the Italian nobility, Castelnan, Hanns of Vauxmarcus, and Richard of Mumpelgard. A man of Gersau, seeing the banner of Hohengollern floating, hastened and carried away this glorious

prize. All the lords of the house of Rheinach met death, together; the youthful Hemmann alone remaining, to continue (like Quintus Fabius*) that ancient family. Hemmann, when the knights dismounted, and cut the long points from their shoes, had wounded himself in his too great haste, and, full of discontent, had been carried behind the lines. The municipal banner of Schaffhausen was at length lost, which had been successively borne and defended by Drethelm, Knight, avoyer of the town, by Hanns of Randegh, bailiff of the Duke, by the nobles Im-Thurm, by two of the name of Stokar, by Hanns of Tulach, (till now, the happy father of ten children,) and by twenty-eight other nobles or burghers, by all of them until death. The avoyer of Aaran fell, with fourteen of his fellow-citizens; Werner of Lo, banner-master, with seven others of Lenzburg. The people of Mellingen, of their own accord, and with honest purpose, had sent thanks to the unfortunate Prince, for the privileges, granted in order to assist them, after a destructive fire. The burghers of Bremgarten were terribly embrued with the enemy's blood, so that the house of Austria has commemorated such faithfulness by a change of the municipal colors.† After twelve other men of Zofingen, fell also their avoyer, Nicholas Gutt, regardless of his own death, but much concerned about the banner which the citizens of Zofingen had confided to his hand. That no hostile community should have reason to boast of its possession, he tore it into pieces, and was found among the dead, the staff fast locked between his teeth. From that time, the citizens made their avoyers swear, "to guard the town banner, even as did the avoyer, Nicholas Gutt." The number of counts, lords, and knights, who perished, was six hundred and fifty-six; so that the brilliancy of the princely Courts was extinguished for many years, and the inhabitants of the country said, that God had sat in

* The Family of the Fabii was a celebrated one in ancient Rome. At the battle of Cremera, B. C. 476, all of the Fabii were cut off, except Quintus Fabius.

† Austria gave the magistrates a white gown with red sleeves, with the same colors in other parts of the dress.

judgement upon the arrogant spite of the nobles. After the fall of nearly all the officers, on both sides, the wrath of the victors was at length overcome, by their bloody toil, and the heat of the day; and the Austrians, undisturbed, indulged the desire of life, but the Swiss, seeing themselves masters of the field, the desire of booty. Such is the end of the great day of the battle at Sempach, in which Arnold Strutthan, of Winkelried, at the price of his own life, saved the flower of the Swiss from death, and his country from extreme danger. The enemy, indeed, suffered from their awkward and unskilful order of battle, their want of practice in fighting on foot; their ignorant contempt of their adversary; and the impetuous character of chivalric valor. Our fathers knew the country, and made use of the advantages, which Switzerland, to this day, offers, in a thousand ways. They were inferior, it is true, in some points of drilling; their mode of warfare was, as were their souls, simple, great, and strong; were they checked in their course by the enemy's discipline, some extraordinary deed, as that at Sempach, aided them; some deed suggested by their heroic souls, and executed by their sound bodies. With a mind like that of Winkelried, and with such infantry, miracles of bravery would have been performed, even if the object had been to capture well-served artillery, or to run under its fire. For all arms, of whatever form, may be over-mastered, by a clear intellect and unconquerable souls. Therefore, according to the opinions of excellent soldiers of our own times, the result of a struggle in defence of our liberty and confederacy, would not be different, if only our souls are still the same.

That same day, the message of the country's salvation was sent to Zurich, Bern, Zug, and Glaris. The day after the battle, when a troop of fugitives had been overtaken, and put to the sword in Sursee, the Swiss granted an armistice, for burying the dead. The body of the Prince, with those of sixty lords and knights, were carried into the convent of Königsfelden; he was deposited in the marble tomb, where rests Queen Agnes, and others of the house. The lords of Aargan were laid in the

graves of their ancestors ; all the rest were interred in large fosses ; two hundred bodies of the confederates were buried at Lucerne. A perpetual anniversary, for all future ages, was appointed, for the rest of the souls of all that had fallen on that day, without distinction, whether friends or foes. Winkelried is justly held in high honor by his people, to this day. It is for all nations and their historians to show, that such a hero becomes immortal at the moment of his glorious death ; and that all good citizens, fathers, or brothers, become his true descendants. The victors, after they had tarried for three days on the battle-field, according to ancient custom, dispersed, bearing as trophies fifteen conquered banners, and returned to their towns and villages, celebrating their achievement.

DEATH OF HUSS, A. D. 1415.

The following account is taken from the work of Zacharaeus Theobald, entitled, 'The War of the Hussites, wherein is comprehended the Life, Doctrine, and Death, of John Huss; also, how the same was avenged by the Bohemians, especially by John Zishka, and his Doctrine afterwards established in the Kingdom, [Bohemia.] The whole diligently collected from credible Historians, ancient Monuments, and Manuscripts. Nuremberg, 1621.' The first volume of this work had appeared as early as 1610, under the title of 'The War of the Hussites,' the second edition of which volume formed a part of the entire work, whose title is given above. Zacharaeus Theobald was born in 1584, at Schlackenwalde, in Bohemia, studied divinity, and became a village pastor. He had been appointed professor of mathematics, probably in the university of Prague, but died in 1627, before entering on the duties of the office. He was the author of various works. In the preface to the above history, he says, that he has undertaken the work, because there was not any full and accurate history of the war of the Hussites, in the German language. He mentions the authorities consulted by him, and states, that he has taken the facts in the Life of Huss, from the account of M. Petras de Mladonowiz, an eyewitness, who had then been regarded as a standard authority in Bohemia, for two hundred years.

John Huss was born in Bohemia, in the year 1389. He studied at Prague; and, in 1402, received an appointment as pastor, having previously delivered philosophical and theological lectures. He made the writings of Wiclif and the Scriptures, his peculiar study. During the violent disturbances and schisms, which then agitated the Church, Huss took part with the anti-papal party. He attacked the licentiousness of the priests, preached against the sale of indulgences, masses for the dead, auricular confession, and the withholding of the cup from the laity in the Lord's Supper, while he relied upon the Bible, as supreme authority. He was cited to appear at Rome, but did not obey the summons in person. When the council of Constance was

held, in order to settle the great disturbances in the Church, the German Emperor Sigismund became responsible for his personal safety, that is, he promised him a safeconduct, and Pope John XXIII. made promises to the same effect, after the arrival of Huss at Constance. Notwithstanding this, he was imprisoned, in spite of the reiterated remonstrances of the Bohemian and Moravian nobles, and was denied an advocate. After several examinations, he was sentenced to death by the assembled council, in 1415. When Huss reminded the Emperor of his promise of safeconduct, Sigismund blushed ; but even so solemn a promise was not considered binding, in the case of a heretic, and Huss was burnt the same day, (July 6,) upon which he was sentenced. Even his enemies speak with admiration of his unblemished virtue, his modest demeanor, and unshaken fortitude in the hour of death.

When the writer of these lines, many years ago, was at Constance, in Switzerland, he paid a visit to the Roman Catholic Bishop of that place, and, with him, visited the spot, pointed out as the place where Huss perished. The Protestant and the Roman Catholic visiter fully agreed respecting the unhappy temper of former times, which dictated these sacrifices, so contrary to the spirit of the Christian religion. It ought to be mentioned, that the Catholic Church, especially the Romanist portion, does not acknowledge the council of Constance as occumenic ; that is, its decrees are not binding upon the Church, although it was one of the most solemn and numerous councils ever assembled, because it revived the principle, that a general council is superior to the Pope, and may even depose him.

The following passage is taken from the first volume of Theobald's War of the Hussites, Chapter XX.

On July the sixth, (some have written, erroneously, June the sixth,) the final examination of John Huss took place, in the following manner: Two hours after the break of day, the Bishop of Riga went, with many men, armed with pikes, swords, and lances, to the convent of the Minorites, ordered Huss to be taken from his prison, and led him to the cathedral, where the cardinals, bishops, prelates, priests, monks, and many of the common people who wished to be spectators, were assembled. When they arrived before the church, he ordered Huss

to remain in the yard, that the mass might not be desecrated by the presence of a heretic. When mass had been read, he was brought in, before the assembled multitudes, who were seated in swarms, on high scaffolds, that had been built along the walls. The Emperor himself sat under the golden crown, upon a royal chair. Near him, the Duke of Bavaria held the orb with the cross. On the other side, stood the burgrave of Nuremberg, with a naked sword. In the centre of the church, was erected a pretty high table, upon which, lay the vestments used in the mass. In these, they ignominiously arrayed Huss, and placed him before the table. He knelt down, and prayed for a long time. In the mean time, Bishop Landinns, otherwise called the monk, ascended the pulpit, from which they* used to read their decrees, and preached a long sermon upon a passage from the sixth chapter of the apostle Paul to the Romans, where he says, "What shall we say, then? Shall we continue in sin?" In this sermon, he taught, at length, what injury is done by heresy, how it destroys the church of Christ, entices the people from Christ, and leads them into the mouth of the devil. He also said, that "it is right for the secular magistrate to suppress it, and to destroy those with whom it originates. For such heretics are much worse than a tyrant, however wicked even he may be. Therefore, it is just," added he, "and the duty of your imperial majesty, most invincible Emperor, to execute this stiff-necked heretic, since he is in our hands, and thus shall your majesty attain an immortal name, with old and young, so long as the world shall stand, for performing a deed so glorious, and so pleasing unto God."

When he had finished, another, named Henricus, orator of the council, ascended the pulpit, and exhorted the assembled council, that they should weigh the matter well, and not rest nor yield, until they had burnt the sturdy heretic, for continuing so stiff-necked in his damnable error. After this, rose a bishop, and went to the desk, upon which they usually read their decrees. He recount-

* The assembled clergy.

ed the difficulties which Huss had had with the archbishop of Prague and the lords of the chapter. He likewise read an account of every thing which they had done, in relation to Huss. At length, all the charges made against him by the witnesses, and things of like nature, were read. But when they read, "Huss teaches, there is a holy catholic church, which is a community of all the faithful, ordained by God for eternal life, which is heretical," Huss answered, with a loud voice, "I do not in the least doubt, that there is a holy Christian church, which is a community of the elect, both in this and the other world." Upon this, the cardinal von Cammerach says, "Hold your tongue; after all has been read, you may answer." "What," says Huss, "will you tie my mouth, even now? How can I answer to all these charges, so numerous, that I cannot remember them?" When another charge had been read, and he attempted to answer it, the bishop of Florence (who was one of the judges) said, "Silence! heretic," and ordered the sergeant to force Huss to keep silence. Then Huss lifted his hands toward heaven, and said, with a clear voice, "I beg you, for the mercy of God, at least to hear me, for the sake of those who stand around, that I may exculpate myself, and remove suspicion from their hearts. Then, you may do with me, as you list." Finding he could not obtain a hearing, he fell upon his knees, lifted his eyes and hands toward heaven, and commended his cause to God. This he did, repeatedly, while they continued to read. When they went on to read what the witnesses had deposed, they handled it after a most cruel and pitiable fashion, so that no one could know who had testified to this or that charge. For instance: when they had read an article, they added, "this was heard by two canons at Prague, two priests, a chaplain, and a doctor." Huss was silent, until they came to the passage,—"Huss has taught, that, after the words of consecration have been pronounced over the bread, it remains natural and essential bread, which is heretical. Item, that a priest, polluted with deadly sins, cannot administer the sacrament of the altar, which is heretical." Thereupon Huss could restrain himself no longer; and

attempted to answer. The cardinal of Florence bade him be silent, which Huss would not do, but said, "I pray you, for the sake of God, let me but speak, on account of those who are here assembled, that they may not believe, I have taught such things. For, first, I do not confess that I have believed, still less have I preached, that the consecrated bread is common natural bread. Secondly, I say, that every act of a priest, laden with deadly sins, is an abomination in the sight of God." When they read the following,—"Huss has taught, that there are four persons in the Godhead. This was heard by a certain doctor, and is heretical,"—Huss said, "Name the doctor." This, the bishop, who was reading, refused to do, saying, "There is no need of it, now." Whereupon Huss exclaimed, "Far be it from me, a poor miserable creature, to add a fourth person to the Holy Trinity. Such a thing has never entered my mind, in all the course of my life, God knows. Still less have I preached it;—*I* who have always confessed one Divine Being in three persons,—God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost, and will die in that faith." Then they added, to the previous articles: "Huss has appealed, in many cases, to the throne of God, which is heretical." Huss cried, "See, O Lord Christ! This council holds thy law and ordinance to be heretical, who thyself, when overcome by thy enemies, didst commend thy cause to thy heavenly Father, the just Judge, leaving an example to us, poor, miserable men, that, in our crosses and miseries, we should flee even unto Thee, as to a just Judge, devoutly seeking help. I, however, do say, that the safest and most certain appeal is, to the Lord Jesus, whom no one can bribe with gifts, nor deceive with false witnesses, from whom no one can escape by cunning, and who alone shall deal out just reward." Lastly, they condemned him, because he had contemned the Pope's excommunication. Upon this, Huss replied, "I have in no wise contemned him, but openly appealed to him, as to a judge. Moreover, three times have I sent to the Pope, men who should answer in my behalf; for, on account of most weighty matters, it was impossible for me to appear, my-

self. It is most notorious, that these persons have not been very fairly dealt with. Some of them have been thrown into prison, some were not listened to, and others, again, have met with ill treatment of a different kind. Therefore, have I come, betimes, to this council, with a free safeconduct from the Roman emperor, who is now present, in the full confidence, that no violence should be done me, that I might prove my innocence." As he said this, he looked straight into the face of the Emperor, who blushed, till his face became crimson.

When he had concluded, the papal judge, an old man somewhat bald, an Italian, arose, and read the sentence passed upon Huss. Several points of these charges, Huss intended to deny and disprove ; and certainly would have done so, had the sergeants not prevented him. But when he was accused of obstinately persevering in his errors, for years, Huss said, " I do not confess to this charge, for I have always desired, and do so still, this day, to be informed and corrected by stronger proof from the Scripture ; and, if, by the will of God, there is a single word in the Holy Scripture, that can prove me in the wrong, willingly would I recant." When they ordered his Books of the Christian Church, with all his other works, in Latin and Bohemian, and those which had been translated by other persons into other languages, at Constance or other places, to be burnt, Huss said, " How can you justly condemn my books, since I have, at all times, desired to be better informed. But this I have never yet been ; nor has one word that I have written yet been proved false. Still further, why shall my books be annihilated by your ordinance, you who have never seen them, or if you have seen them, do not understand them, because you do not know the Bohemian language." After he had thus said, and they proceeded with the sentence, he knelt down, looked up to heaven, and prayed thus : " Lord God, I fervently supplicate that, in thy endless mercy, Thou wilt pardon these my enemies ; for Thou knowest well, that I have been falsely accused, by false witnesses, of fictitious errors, and have been unfairly sentenced. Therefore, I pray Thee, of thine unspeakable mercy, that Thou

wilt not lay it to their charge." When he had said this, aloud, the priests, especially the bishops, eyed him with a malignant and scornful smile. By the order of the seven bishops, appointed to degrade him, he put on the vestments used in the mass, as though he were about to read mass. When he put on the alba, he thus spoke: "My master, Christ, when he was sent from Herod to Pilate, was likewise arrayed in a white garment, and mocked by the priests." When he had put on all these vestments, the bishops exhorted him to confess, before it was too late, to recant, and abjure his errors.

But he turned to the people, and, with tears, thus addressed them: "Behold, the bishops exhort me to abjure my errors; but I fear to do so, lest I should be found a liar, before the face of God. He, who falsely confesses himself to be in error, violates his conscience and Divine truth. I have never taught such doctrines as have been laid to my charge by false witnesses. Further, I dare not do it, lest I should offend the pious hearts of the hearers whom I have taught, and lead them, and other faithful servants of the word, astray from the truth." When he had finished, the bishops and all the priests exclaimed, together: "Now we see how stiff-necked he is, in his wickedness, and obdurate, in heresy. Get down from the table! get down!" When he had descended, the bishops began to degrade him, in the following manner: They first took from him the chalice, saying, "O! thou cursed Judas! who didst forsake the counsels of peace, and join thyself with Jews, behold, we take from thee this chalice, in which the blood of Christ is offered up for the remission of sins." But Huss replied, "Confiding in my God and Saviour, I indulge the hope, that He will not take from me the cup of salvation, and trust, that, through his grace, I shall drink of it, this day, in his kingdom." They proceeded to take from him the other articles, one after another, and, as each was removed, they pronounced a curse. Upon this, Huss said, "I suffer this, willingly, for the truth and the name of the Lord Jesus Christ." At length, when he was stripped of all the vestments used in performing the mass, they were proceeding to desecrate

the spot on his head. As they were about to do so, a dispute arose among the bishops and priests. For some would do it with a razor ; others said, it might be done, as well, with the scissors. Whilst they were thus warmly disputing, Huss turned to the Emperor, and said : " Lo ! the bishops cannot agree in their mockery of me." But when, at length, they had decided upon it, they made a cross on his head with the scissors, and said, " The holy council of Constance expels John Huss from the holy and magnificent order of priests, to which he has belonged, and thus indicates, that he has severed himself from the Christian church, and that henceforth he is not subject to the ecclesiastical, but to the secular, power." Before placing the paper crown upon his head, they said, " We commend thy soul to the devils." Huss folded his hands, looked upwards, and said, " Well, then, I commend it to my Lord Jesus Christ." On seeing the crown, he said, " My Lord Jesus Christ has worn for me, poor, sinful man, a heavier crown of thorns, and even suffered an ignominious death on the cross. Therefore, I, a poor sinner, willingly wear this, which is much lighter, although it has been made to deride me." This crown was about half an ell long, and formed like a haystack ; on it, were painted three large, horrid devils, and it bore this superscription : " This is a heretic." Soon after this, the Emperor said to Duke Lewis, " Go, and give him over to the beadles." The Duke stepped aside, took off the princely mantle which he wore when in attendance upon the Emperor, handed him over to the officers, and accompanied him to the place where he was burned.

It is recorded, that the Emperor's chancellor, Count Caspar Schlick, as soon as he heard the sentence, left the church, and openly protested, that he could not, with a good conscience, be present at the execution of so hasty a sentence. He was a learned, wise man, and of great understanding. He was chancellor to three successive kings ; (a circumstance at which Sylvius expresses his surprise ;) and met with no reverses of fortune, but was invested by all these sovereigns with the government of wealthy cities, such as Passau, Weissenkirchen, (from

which the counts of Schlick have, to this day, their title,) Elnbogen, and Gratz in Styria.

When the condemned Huss, with his crown of paper, was led by the hangman from the church to the fagot, his spirits rose; and it is testified of him, even by his enemies, as well as his friends, by M. Hieronymus, and especially, Sylvius, (who afterwards became Pope,) that he seemed as though he were going to a gladsome meal, or, as the vulgar saying is, to a dance. But, when he saw his books burning in the churchyard, he stopped, and smiled. As he passed along, he exhorted the people "not to believe that he was going to be burnt for his errors; for, that some articles were charged against him, on the false testimony of his deadly enemies, although he had never taught them; that others had never been proved to be false, although he had urgently requested it." But the people who went along with him, were all armed, especially the burghers, who had been called upon to attend. When they arrived at the place where he was to be burnt, Huss fell upon his knees, clasped his hands, which were not tied, looked towards heaven, and repeated the thirtieth and fiftieth Psalms of David. And he especially repeated many times the verse, "Into thy hands I commend my spirit; Thou hast delivered it, faithful God!" When some of the common people heard this, they said, "What this man has previously taught or preached, we know not; but, now, we hear none but holy words from his lips." Others said, "He ought to have a confessor." But a fat priest, clad in a green gown, with a red lining, rode along, saying, "They shall not hear the heretic, and there is no need of a confessor." But Huss had confessed, seven days previously, to a monk, who had been allowed him by the council, and who absolved him. The crown, which had fallen from the head of Huss, while praying, was put on again, at which he smiled. They said, "The devils should be burnt along with the devils' servant." When, by order of the executioner, he stood upright, he began to pray thus, in a loud voice: "Lord Jesus Christ, I will cheerfully suffer this fearful and shameful death, for the sake of thy holy gospel and

thy Divine word ; O ! forgive my enemies for this sin." The executioner then led him about, to bless the people,* whom he earnestly begged "not to believe that he had taught any thing contrary to the word of God." Lastly, he begged to speak once more to those who had been his keepers, when he was in prison ; and when he came to them, he said, "Dear brethren, I give you many thanks for the favors which you have bestowed upon me, during my long imprisonment. You have not been my keepers, but brethren ; and I declare to you, that I faithfully believe I shall reign this day with my Lord and Saviour, for whose name I suffer this death." He then advanced, cheerfully, and without one sign of fear, to the stake, which had been planted in the ground, to which the executioner bound him with six ropes, his arms being tied behind his back. But, in doing this, the executioners had made a mistake ; for they had placed his face toward the east, and they were obliged to turn him, being a heretic, towards the west. Around his neck they placed an old rusty chain, as though he were unworthy of a new one : when Huss saw this, he said, with a smile, "My Lord Christ was bound for me, with a far heavier chain. Why should I be ashamed to be bound with so old and rusty a one ?" Under his feet, on which his boots still remained, and the fetters also, they placed two fagots, and around him, much wood, and straw, and branches, as high as his neck. But before the executioners lighted it, Duke Lewis of Bavaria, with the marshal of some imperial city by his side, rode up to him, and exhorted him to renounce his errors, (as they thought them,) and to abjure his doctrines. Then Huss cried, with a clear voice, from the stake, "I call God to witness, that I have not taught nor written what false witnesses have laid to my charge ; but that the aim of all my sermons, doctrines, and writings, has been, to turn the people from their sins, and lead them to the kingdom of God. This truth, which I have taught,

* This means, I believe, to bid them farewell, because one of the common forms of doing so is, "God bless you ;" hence, blessing, for wishing this blessing. Otherwise, the text would contain a contradiction, since a heretic and outcast priest could not bless the people.

preached, written, and diffused, and which agrees with the word of God, I will keep, and seal with my death." When they heard this, they clasped their hands together, and rode off. Soon after, the executioners lighted the fire, which caught quickly, because there was much straw between the wood. When Huss saw the smoke, he sang, in a clear voice, "Christ, Son of God, have mercy upon me." But when he was about to say, the third time, "Christ, son of God, born of a pure Virgin," the flame reached his face, and deprived him of speech, so that he could not pronounce, "Have mercy upon me;" but he prayed, and nodded with his head, as long as it takes one to repeat the Lord's prayer, upon which he died. When the wood was burnt, but the body, not entirely consumed, yet hung upon the stake, the executioners pushed it down with poles, and threw more wood upon it. They then broke the bones with the poles, that they might burn the sooner. The head, too, they beat to pieces; but the heart, which was found among the entrails, they put on the end of a pointed pole, and roasted it.

When Duke Lewis was informed that one of the executioners had the cloak, girdle, and other articles of clothing, belonging to Huss, he ordered them "to burn every thing, or" (as certainly would have happened,) "the Bohemians would keep them, as relics." The executioner, at first, refused; but, when a stipulated sum of money was promised him, he threw every thing into the fire. At length, when every thing was consumed, they put the ashes, together with the earth, which they dug out to the depth of some feet, upon a cart, and threw it into the Rhine. The place, where this happened, is between the gardens of the suburb, by the road leading to Gottleben. Some, who have been at the place, say, that, to this day, no grass will grow on the spot. Whether this be true, I know not.

Before Huss suffered, the Council had wreaked a tardy vengeance on his forerunner and preceptor, Wiclif, whose body was ordered "to be taken from the ground,

and thrown far away from the burial of any church." After the lapse of thirteen years, the sentence was executed, by disinterring and burning the Reformer's body, and casting the ashes into a neighboring brook. The often quoted words of Fuller, on this occasion, may be equally well applied to the good man, whose history has just been related: "The brook did convey his ashes into Avon; Avon into Severn; Severn into the narrow seas; they into the main ocean. And thus, the ashes of Wiclif are the emblem of his doctrine, which now is dispersed all the world over."

Jerome of Prague has been already mentioned, as the most distinguished among Huss's followers, and his coadjutor in preaching. He was summoned to Constance, in the Spring of 1415, before Huss had suffered martyrdom; and it was probably in consequence of witnessing his companion's sufferings, that he was induced to retract, to condemn, in the strongest terms, as blasphemous and seditious, the tenets which, in his heart, he still continued to hold, and to profess his entire adherence to all the doctrines of the Roman Church. Fortunately, he was not left to endure, through life, the reproaches of conscience; for the continued enmity and mistaken persecution of his adversaries conferred a benefit on him, which they were far from intending. He was still retained in confinement, and harassed with fresh charges, though his retractation had been ample and complete. At last, he obtained a public audience before the Council, on the twenty-third of May, 1416; when he recalled his former recantation, confessing that it had been dictated only by the fear of a painful death. Poggio, the Florentine, who was a witness of the whole course of Jerome's trial, has left a long and interesting account of it, in a letter to Leonardo Aretino; from which, it appears that his sympathy had been strongly excited, by the constancy of the sufferer. Though connected with the highest dignitaries of the Church, he writes in such a strain of admiration, that his friend thought it necessary to warn him of the danger which he might incur, by speaking of a condemned heretic in such terms.

THE CONQUEST OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

BY GIBBON.

Edward Gibbon was born in 1737, at Putney, in England, and died in 1794. The biography of this great historian, of the Decline and final Fall of the Roman Empire, may be found in so many works, accessible to every one, and in a form so much more complete than it would be possible to give it here, that readers will not expect from us, even a hasty outline. Whatever Gibbon's faults may be, for instance, his peculiar skepticism, still his work is a truly-great one ; and I may be permitted to repeat, here, what I have stated in another place, at great length, that few works are more instructive to a reflecting man. For it shows the protracted disease and corruption of an empire ; the anatomy of a body politic laid bare ; and is full of warning to every one, disposed to heed the grave lessons furnished by that period.

The Byzantine empire had gradually dwindled in extent, as well as internal power, so that nothing could restore its vigor. The Greeks had become grossly corrupt, in morals and politics, and had given themselves up to the most wayward folly, in religion, while they still were puffed up by the recollection of former grandeur and early civilization. Degenerated, as they were, in almost every respect, and to so frightful a degree, nothing, according to the experience we derive from history, could resuscitate that country and establish a better order of things, but a total regeneration, by a fresh admixture from foreign nations,—a conquest by a better race. Such was not their fate. An Asiatic race, which, out of the many tribes which profess Islamism, is one of those least susceptible of civilization,—the Turks,—were the conquerors of this tottering empire. Nor is this the only melancholy reflection which forces itself upon our mind, in regarding this conquest. It happened, in this case, as in so many others recorded in history, that those, who would have been worthy of better days, and who would not have caused or promoted the general degeneracy, were nevertheless often obliged to bear its frightful consequences, and the ultimate ruin brought on by it.

Thus, too, Louis the Sixteenth, a better man than either of his three predecessors, was destined to mount the scaffold, mainly in consequence of their vicious government.

At present, centuries after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, our mind is relieved by the consideration, that the very barbarity of the victorious Turks, at that time, was attended with some advantageous consequences. Many learned Greeks, inheriting a large share of the civilization of their forefathers, emigrated to the west of Europe, (for instance, to Florence,) where they rekindled an ardor for the study of the ancients, gave an impulse to the revival of letters, diffused a new taste, and awakened a spirit of sound criticism; in short, contributed, most powerfully, to the preparation of the European mind for that great event, the Reformation.

While Mohammed* threatened the capital of the East, the Greek Emperor implored, with fervent prayers, the assistance of earth and Heaven. But the invisible powers were deaf to his supplications; and Christendom beheld, with indifference, the fall of Constantinople, while she derived, at least, some promise of supply from the jealous and temporal policy of the Sultan of Egypt. Some states were too weak, and others too remote; by some, the danger was considered as imaginary; by others, as inevitable: the western princes were involved in their endless and domestic quarrels; and the Roman Pontiff was exasperated by the falsehood or obstinacy of the Greeks. Instead of employing, in their favor, the arms and treasures of Italy, Nicholas the Fifth had foretold their approaching ruin, and his honor was engaged in the accomplishment of his prophecy. Perhaps he was softened by the last extremity of their distress; but his compassion was tardy; his efforts were faint and unavailing; and Constantinople had fallen, before the squadrons of Genoa and Venice could sail from their harbors. Even the princes of the Morea and of the Greek islands affected a cold neutrality; the Genoese colony of Galata negotiated a private treaty; and the Sultan indulged them,

* Mohammed II., Sultan of the Turks, who began to reign, A. D. 1451. The siege of Constantinople began, April 6, A. D. 1453.

in the delusive hope, that, by his clemency, they might survive the ruin of the Empire. A plebeian crowd, and some Byzantine nobles, basely withdrew from the danger of their country; and the avarice of the rich denied the Emperor, and reserved for the Turks, the secret treasures which might have raised in their defence whole armies of mercenaries.

The indigent and solitary prince prepared, however, to sustain his formidable adversary; but, if his courage was equal to the peril, his strength was inadequate to the contest. In the beginning of the Spring, the Turkish vanguard swept the towns and villages, as far as the gates of Constantinople: submission was spared and protected; whatever presumed to resist, was exterminated with fire and sword. The Greek places on the Black Sea, Mesembria, Acheloum, and Bizon, surrendered, on the first summons; Selybria, alone, deserved the honors of a siege or blockade; and the bold inhabitants, while they were invested by land, launched their boats, pillaged the opposite coast of Cyzicus, and sold their captives in the public market. But on the approach of Mohammed, himself, all was silent and prostrate: he first halted at the distance of five miles; and from thence advancing, in battle array, planted before the gate of St. Romanus the Imperial standard; and, on the sixth day of April, formed the memorable siege of Constantinople.

The troops of Asia and Europe extended, on the right and left, from the Propontis to the harbor; the Janizaries in the front were stationed before the Sultan's tent; the Ottoman line was covered by a deep intrenchment; and a subordinate army enclosed the suburb of Galata, and watched the doubtful faith of the Genoese. The inquisitive Philelphus, who resided in Greece, about thirty years before the siege, is confident, that all the Turkish forces, of any name or value, could not exceed the number of sixty thousand horse, and twenty thousand foot; and he upbraids the pusillanimity of the nations, who had tamely yielded to a handful of barbarians. Such, indeed, might be the regular establishment of the *Capiculi*, the troops of the Porte, who marched with the prince, and

were paid from his royal treasury. But the Bashaws, in their respective governments, maintained or levied a provincial militia; many lands were held by a military tenure; many volunteers were attracted by the hope of spoil; and the sound of the holy trumpet invited a swarm of hungry and fearless fanatics, who might contribute at least to multiply the terrors, and, in a first attack, to blunt the swords, of the Christians. The whole mass of the Turkish powers is magnified by Ducas, Chalcocondyles, and Leonard of Chios, to the amount of three or four hundred thousand men; but Phranza was a less remote and more accurate judge; and his precise definition, of two hundred and fifty-eight thousand, does not exceed the measure of experience and probability.

The navy of the besiegers was less formidable: the Propontis was overspread with three hundred and twenty sail; but of these, no more than eighteen could be rated as galleys of war; and the far greater part must be degraded to the condition of store-ships and transports, which poured into the camp fresh supplies of men, ammunition, and provisions. In her last decay, Constantinople was still peopled with more than a hundred thousand inhabitants; but these numbers are found in the accounts, not of war, but of captivity; and they mostly consisted of mechanics, of priests, of women, and of men devoid of that spirit, which even women have sometimes exerted for the common safety. I can suppose, I could almost excuse, the reluctance of subjects to serve on a distant frontier, at the will of a tyrant; but the man, who dares not expose his life in the defence of his children and his property, has lost in society the first and most active energies of Nature.

By the Emperor's command, a particular inquiry had been made, through the streets and houses, how many of the citizens, or even of the monks, were able and willing to bear arms for their country. The lists were intrusted to Phranza; and, after a diligent addition, he informed his master, with grief and surprise, that the national defence was reduced to four thousand nine hundred and seventy *Romans*. Between Constantine and his faithful min-

ister, this comfortless secret was preserved ; and a sufficient proportion of shields, crossbows, and muskets, was distributed from the arsenal to the city bands.

They derived some accession from a body of two thousand strangers, under the command of John Justiniani, a noble Genoese. A liberal donative was advanced to these auxiliaries ; and a princely recompense,—the isle of Lemnos,—was promised to the valor and victory of their chief.

A strong chain was drawn across the mouth of the harbor : it was supported by some Greek and Italian vessels of war and merchandise ; and the ships of every Christian nation, that successively arrived from Candia and the Black Sea, were detained for the public service. Against the powers of the Ottoman empire, a city of the extent of thirteen, perhaps of sixteen, miles, was defended by a scanty garrison of seven or eight thousand soldiers. Europe and Asia were open to the besiegers ; but the strength and provisions of the Greeks must sustain a daily decrease ; nor could they indulge the expectation of any foreign succor or supply.

The primitive Romans would have drawn their swords, in the resolution of death or conquest. The primitive Christians might have embraced each other, and awaited, in patience and charity, the stroke of martyrdom. But the Greeks of Constantinople were animated, only by the spirit of religion, and that spirit was productive, only of animosity and discord. Before his death, the Emperor John Palæologus had renounced the unpopular measure of a union with the Latins ; nor was the idea revived, till the distress of his brother Constantine imposed a last trial of flattery and dissimulation. With the demand of temporal aid, his ambassadors were instructed to mingle the assurance of spiritual obedience ; his neglect of the Church was excused by the urgent cares of State ; and his orthodox wishes solicited the presence of a Roman legate.

The Vatican had been too often deluded ; yet the signs of repentance could not decently be overlooked ; a legate was more easily granted than an army ; and, about six months before the final destruction, the cardinal Isidore,

of Russia, appeared in that character, with a retinue of priests and soldiers. The Emperor saluted him as a friend and father; respectfully listened to his public and private sermons; and, with the most obsequious of the clergy and laymen, subscribed the act of union, as it had been ratified in the council of Florence. On the twelfth of December, the two nations, in the church of St. Sophia, joined in the communion of sacrifice and prayer; and the names of the two Pontiffs were solemnly commemorated,—the names of Nicholas the Fifth, the Vicar of Christ, and of the Patriarch Gregory, who had been driven into exile by a rebellious people.

But the dress and language of the Latin priest, who officiated at the altar, were an object of scandal; and it was observed, with horror, that he consecrated a cake or wafer of *unleavened* bread, and poured cold water into the cup of the sacrament. A national historian acknowledges, with a blush, that none of his countrymen, not the Emperor himself, were sincere in this occasional conformity. Their hasty and unconditional submission was palliated, by a promise of future revisal; but the best, or the worst, of their excuses, was the confession of their own perjury. When they were pressed by the reproaches of their honest brethren, "Have patience," they whispered, "have patience, till God shall have delivered the city from the great dragon who seeks to devour us. You shall then perceive, whether we are truly reconciled with the Azymites." But patience is not the attribute of zeal; nor can the arts of a court be adapted to the freedom and violence of popular enthusiasm.

From the dome of St. Sophia, the inhabitants, of either sex, and of every degree, rushed, in crowds, to the cell of the monk Gennadius, to consult the oracle of the Church. The holy man was invisible; entranced, as it should seem, in deep meditation, or Divine rapture: but he had exposed, on the door of his cell, a speaking tablet; and they successively withdrew, after reading these tremendous words: "O miserable Romans! why will ye abandon the truth; and why, instead of confiding in God, will ye put your trust in the Italians? In losing your faith, you

will lose your city. Have mercy on me, O Lord! I protest, in thy presence, that I am innocent of the crime. O miserable Romans! consider, pause, and repent. At the same moment that you renounce the religion of your fathers, by embracing impiety, you submit to a foreign servitude." According to the advice of Gennadius, the religious virgins, as pure as angels and as proud as demons, rejected the act of union, and abjured all communion with the present and future associates of the Latins; and their example was applauded and imitated, by the greatest part of the clergy and people.

From the monastery, the devout Greeks dispersed themselves in the taverns; drank confusion to the slaves of the Pope; emptied their glasses in honor of the image of the holy Virgin; and besought her to defend against Mohammed, the city which she had formerly saved from Chosroes and Chagan. In the double intoxication of zeal and wine, they valiantly exclaimed, "What occasion have we for succor, or union, or Latins? far from us be the worship of the Azymites!"

During the Winter that preceded the Turkish conquest, the nation was distracted by this epidemical frenzy; and the season of Lent, the approach of Easter, instead of breathing charity and love, served only to fortify the obstinacy and influence of the zealots. The confessors scrutinized and alarmed the conscience of their votaries, and a rigorous penance was imposed on those who had received the communion from a priest, who had given an express or tacit consent to the union. His service at the altar propagated the infection to the mute and simple spectators of the ceremony; they forfeited, by the impure spectacle, the virtue of the sacerdotal character; nor was it lawful, even in danger of sudden death, to invoke the assistance of their prayers or absolution.

No sooner had the church of St. Sophia been polluted by the Latin sacrifice, than it was deserted as a Jewish synagogue, or a heathen temple, by the clergy and people; and a vast and gloomy silence prevailed in that venerable dome, which had so often smoked with a cloud of incense, blazed with innumerable lights, and resounded

with the voice of prayer and thanksgiving. The Latins were the most odious of heretics and infidels; and the first minister of the empire, the great Duke, was heard to declare, that he would rather behold in Constantinople, the turban of Mahomet, than the Pope's tiara or a cardinal's hat. A sentiment, so unworthy of Christians and patriots, was familiar and fatal to the Greeks: the Emperor was deprived of the affection and support of his subjects; and their native cowardice was sanctified by resignation to the Divine decree, or the visionary hope of a miraculous deliverance.

Of the triangle which composes the figure of Constantinople, the two sides, along the sea, were made inaccessible to an enemy; the Propontis, by Nature, and the harbor by art. Between the two waters, the basis of the triangle, the land side was protected by a double wall, and a deep ditch of the depth of one hundred feet. Against this line of fortification, which Phranza, an eye-witness, prolongs to the measure of six miles,* the Ottomans directed their principal attack; and the Emperor, after distributing the service and command of the most perilous stations, undertook the defence of the external wall.

In the first days of the siege, the Greek soldiers descended into the ditch, or sallied into the field; but they soon discovered, that, in the proportion of their numbers, one Christian was of more value than twenty Turks; and, after these bold preludes, they were prudently content to maintain the rampart with their missile weapons. Nor should this prudence be accused of pusillanimity. The nation was indeed pusillanimous and base; but the last Constantine deserves the name of a hero: his noble band of volunteers was inspired with Roman virtue; and the foreign auxiliaries supported the honor of the Western chivalry. The incessant volleys of lances and arrows were accompanied with the smoke, the sound, and the fire, of their musketry and cannon. Their small arms discharged, at the same time, either five, or even ten, balls

* About six English miles.

of lead, of the size of a walnut; and, according to the closeness of the ranks and the force of the powder, several breastplates and bodies were transpierced by the same shot.

But the Turkish approaches were soon sunk in trenches, or covered with ruins. Each day added to the science of the Christians; but their inadequate stock of gunpowder was wasted in the operations of each day. Their ordnance was not powerful, either in size or number; and if they possessed some heavy cannon, they feared to plant them on the walls, lest the aged structure should be shaken and overthrown by the explosion.

The same destructive secret had been revealed to the Moslems; by whom it was employed with the superior energy of zeal, riches, and despotism. The great cannon of Mohammed was an important and visible object in the history of the times; but that enormous engine was flanked by two fellows almost of equal magnitude: the long order of the Turkish artillery was pointed against the walls; fourteen batteries thundered, at once, on the most accessible places; and of one of these, it is ambiguously expressed, that it was mounted with one hundred and thirty guns, or that it discharged one hundred and thirty bullets. Yet, in the power and activity of the Sultan, we may discern the infancy of the new science. Under a master who counted the moments, the great cannon could be loaded and fired no more than seven times in one day. The heated metal unfortunately burst; several workmen were destroyed, and the skill of an artist was admired, who bethought himself of preventing the danger and the accident, by pouring oil, after each explosion, into the mouth of the cannon.

The first random shots were productive of more sound than effect; and it was by the advice of a Christian, that the engineers were taught to level their aim against the two opposite sides of the salient angles of a bastion. However imperfect, the weight and repetition of the fire made some impression on the walls; and the Turks, pushing their approaches to the edge of the ditch, attempted to fill the enormous chasm, and to build a road to the assault. Innumerable fascines, and hogsheads, and trunks

of trees, were heaped on each other; and, such was the impetuosity of the throng, that the foremost and the weakest were pushed headlong down the precipice, and instantly buried under the accumulated mass. To fill the ditch was the toil of the besiegers; to clear away the rubbish was the safety of the besieged; and, after a long and bloody conflict, the web that had been woven in the day was still unravelled in the night.

The next resource of Mohammed was the practice of mines; but the soil was rocky; in every attempt he was stopped and undermined by the Christian engineers; nor had the art been yet invented of replenishing those subterraneous passages with gunpowder, and blowing whole towers and cities into the air. A circumstance, that distinguishes the siege of Constantinople, is the reunion of the ancient and modern artillery. The cannon were intermingled with the mechanical engines for casting stones and darts; the bullet and the battering-ram were directed against the same walls; nor had the discovery of gunpowder superseded the use of the liquid and inextinguishable fire. A wooden turret, of the largest size, was advanced on rollers: this portable magazine of ammunition and fascines was protected by a threefold covering of bulls' hides; incessant volleys were securely discharged from the loop-holes; in the front, three doors were contrived for the alternate sally and retreat of the soldiers and workmen. They ascended, by a staircase, to the upper platform; and, as high as the level of that platform, a scaling ladder could be raised by pulleys, to form a bridge, and grapple with the adverse rampart. By these various arts of annoyance, some as new, as they were pernicious, to the Greeks, the tower of St. Romanus was at length overturned: after a severe struggle, the Turks were repulsed from the breach, and interrupted by darkness; but they trusted, that, with the return of light, they should renew the attack, with fresh vigor and decisive success.

Of this pause of action, this interval of hope, each moment was improved by the activity of the Emperor and Justiniani, who passed the night on the spot, and urged the labors which involved the safety of the Church and

city. At the dawn of day, the impatient Sultan perceived, with astonishment and grief, that his wooden turret had been reduced to ashes: the ditch was cleared and restored; and the tower of St. Romanus was again strong and entire. He deplored the failure of his design; and uttered a profane exclamation, that the word of the thirty-seven thousand prophets should not have compelled him to believe that such a work, in so short a time, could have been accomplished by the Infidels.

The generosity of the Christian princes was cold and tardy; but, in the first apprehension of a siege, Constantine had negotiated, in the isles of the Archipelago, the Morea, and Sicily, the most indispensable supplies. As early as the beginning of April, five great ships, equipped for merchandise and war, would have sailed from the harbor of Chios, had not the wind blown, obstinately, from the north. One of these ships bore the Imperial flag; the remaining four belonged to the Genoese; and they were laden with wheat and barley, with wine, oil, and vegetables, and, above all, with soldiers and mariners, for the service of the capital. After a tedious delay, a gentle breeze, and, on the second day, a strong gale from the south, carried them through the Hellespont and the Propontis: but the city was already invested, by sea and land; and the Turkish fleet, at the entrance of the Bosphorus, was stretched from shore to shore, in the form of a crescent, to intercept, or at least to repel, these bold auxiliaries.

The reader, who has present to his mind the geographical picture of Constantinople, will conceive and admire the greatness of the spectacle. The five Christian ships continued to advance, with joyful shouts, and a full press, both of sails and oars, against a hostile fleet of three hundred vessels; and the rampart, the camp, the coasts of Europe and Asia, were lined with innumerable spectators, who anxiously awaited the event of this momentous succor. At the first view, that event could not appear doubtful; the superiority of the Moslems was beyond all measure or account; and, in a calm, their numbers and valor must inevitably have prevailed. But their hasty and im-

perfect navy had been created, not by the genius of the people, but by the will of the Sultan; in the height of their prosperity, the Turks have acknowledged, that, if God had given them the earth, He had left the sea to the Infidels; and a series of defeats, a rapid progress of decay, has established the truth of their modest confession. Except eighteen galleys, of some force, the rest of their fleet consisted of open boats, rudely constructed and awkwardly managed, crowded with troops, and destitute of cannon; and, since courage arises, in a great measure, from the consciousness of strength, the bravest of the Janizaries might tremble on a new element. In the Christian squadron, five stout and lofty ships were guided by skilful pilots, and manned with the veterans of Italy and Greece, long practised in the arts and perils of the sea. Their weight was directed to sink or scatter the weak obstacles that impeded their passage; their artillery swept the waters; their liquid fire was poured on the heads of the adversaries, who, with the design of boarding, presumed to approach them; and the winds and waves are always on the side of the ablest navigators. In this conflict, the Imperial vessel, which had been almost overpowered, was rescued by the Genoese; but the Turks, in a distant and closer attack, were twice repulsed, with considerable loss. Mohammed, himself, sat on horseback on the beach, to encourage their valor by his voice and presence, by the promise of reward, and by fear, more potent than the fear of the enemy. The passions of his soul, and even the gestures of his body, seemed to intimate the actions of the combatants; and, as if he had been the lord of Nature, he spurred his horse, with a fearless and impotent effort, into the sea. His loud reproaches, and the clamors of the camp, urged the Ottomans to a third attack, more fatal and bloody than the two former; and I must repeat, though I cannot credit, the evidence of Phranza, who affirms, from their own mouth, that they lost above twelve thousand men in the slaughter of the day. They fled, in disorder, to the shores of Europe and Asia, while the Christian squadron, triumphant and unhurt, steered along the Bosphorus, and se-

curely anchored within the chain of the harbor. In the confidence of victory, they boasted that the whole Turkish power must have yielded to their arms; but the admiral or captain bashaw found some consolation for a painful wound in his eye, by representing that accident as the cause of his defeat. Baltha Ogli was a renegade of the race of the Bulgarian princes; his military character was tainted with the unpopular vice of avarice; and, under the despotism of the prince or people, misfortune is a sufficient evidence of guilt. His rank and services were annihilated, by the displeasure of Mohammed. In the royal presence, the captain bashaw was extended on the ground by four slaves, and received one hundred strokes with a golden rod: his death had been pronounced; and he adored the clemency of the Sultan, who was satisfied with the milder punishment of confiscation and exile. The introduction of this supply revived the hopes of the Greeks, and accused the supineness of their western allies. Amidst the deserts of Anatolia, and the rocks of Palestine, the millions of the Crusaders had buried themselves in a voluntary and inevitable grave; but the situation of the Imperial city was strong against her enemies, and accessible to her friends; and a rational and moderate armament of the maritime states might have saved the relics of the Roman name, and maintained a Christian fortress in the heart of the Ottoman empire. Yet this was the sole and feeble attempt for the deliverance of Constantinople; the more distant powers were insensible of its danger; and the ambassador of Hungary, or, at least, of Huniades, resided in the Turkish camp, to remove the fears, and to direct the operations, of the Sultan.

It was difficult for the Greeks to penetrate the secret of the Divan; yet the Greeks are persuaded, that a resistance, so obstinate and surprising, had fatigued the perseverance of Mohammed. He began to meditate a retreat, and the siege would have been speedily raised, if the ambition and jealousy of the second vizier, had not opposed the perfidious advice of Calil Bashaw,* who still

* The prime vizier, or minister of the Sultan. He had long been

maintained a secret correspondence with the Byzantine court. The reduction of the city appeared to be hopeless, unless a double attack could be made, from the harbor, as well as from the land; but the harbor was inaccessible; an impenetrable chain was now defended by eight large ships, more than twenty of a smaller size, with several galleys and sloops; and, instead of forcing this barrier, the Turks might apprehend a naval sally, and a second encounter in the open sea.

In this perplexity, the genius of Mohammed conceived and executed a plan, of a bold and marvellous cast, of transporting, by land, his lighter vessels and military stores, from the Bosphorus into the higher part of the harbor. The distance is about ten miles; the ground is uneven, and was overspread with thickets; and, as the road must be opened behind the suburb of Galata, their free passage, or total destruction, must depend on the option of the Genoese. But these selfish merchants were ambitious of the favor of being the last devoured; and the deficiency of art was supplied by the strength of obedient myriads. A level way was covered with a broad platform of strong and solid planks; and, to render them more slippery and smooth, they were anointed with the fat of sheep and oxen. Fourscore light galleys and brigantines, of fifty and thirty oars, were disembarked on the Bosphorus shore; arranged successively on rollers, and drawn forwards by the power of men and pulleys. Two guides or pilots were stationed at the helm, and the prow, of each vessel; the sails were unfurled to the winds; and the labor was cheered by song and acclamation.

In the course of a single night, this Turkish fleet painfully climbed the hill, steered over the plain, and was launched from the declivity into the shallow waters of the harbor, far above the molestation of the deeper vessels of the Greeks.

The real importance of this operation was magnified, by the consternation and confidence which it inspired; but the notorious, unquestionable fact was displayed be-

engaged in a treasonable correspondence with the Greeks, which was detected and punished after the conclusion of the war.

fore the eyes, and is recorded by the pens, of the two nations. A similar stratagem had been repeatedly practised by the ancients : the Ottoman galleys (I must again repeat) should be considered as large boats ; and, if we compare the magnitude and the distance, the obstacles and the means, the boasted miracle has, perhaps, been equalled by the industry of our own times.

As soon as Mohammed had occupied the upper harbor, with a fleet and army, he constructed, in the narrowest part, a bridge, or rather mole, of fifty cubits in breadth, and one hundred in length ; it was formed of casks and hogsheads, joined with rafters, linked with iron, and covered with a solid floor. On this floating battery, he planted one of his largest cannon, while the fourscore galleys, with troops and scaling ladders, approached the most accessible side, which had formerly been stormed by the Latin conquerors. The indolence of the Christians has been accused, for not destroying these unfinished works ; but their fire, by a superior fire, was controlled and silenced ; nor were they wanting in a nocturnal attempt to burn the vessels, as well as the bridge, of the Sultan. His vigilance prevented their approach ; their foremost galliots were sunk, or taken ; forty youths, the bravest of Italy and Greece, were inhumanly massacred at his command ; nor could the Emperor's grief be assuaged by the just, though cruel retaliation, of exposing from the walls, the heads of two hundred and sixty Mussulman captives.

After the siege of forty days, the fate of Constantinople could no longer be averted. The diminutive garrison was exhausted by a double attack ; the fortifications, which had stood, for ages, against hostile violence, were dismantled, on all sides, by the Ottoman cannon ; many breaches were opened ; and near the gate of St. Romanus, four towers had been levelled with the ground. For the payment of his feeble and mutinous troops, Constantine was compelled to despoil the churches, with the promise of a fourfold restitution ; and his sacrilege offered a new reproach to the enemies of the union. A spirit of discord impaired the remnant of the Christian strength :

the Genoese and Venetian auxiliaries asserted the pre-eminence of their respective service; and Justiniani and the great Duke, whose ambition was not extinguished by the common danger, accused each other of treachery and cowardice.

During the siege of Constantinople, the words of peace and capitulation had been sometimes pronounced; and several embassies had passed between the camp and the city. The Greek Emperor was humbled by adversity; and would have yielded to any terms, compatible with religion and royalty. The Turkish Sultan was desirous of sparing the blood of his soldiers; still more desirous of securing, for his own use, the Byzantine treasures; and he accomplished a sacred duty in presenting to the *Gabours*,* the choice of circumcision, of tribute, or of death. The avarice of Mohammed might have been satisfied with an annual sum of one hundred thousand ducats; but his ambition grasped the capital of the East; to the Prince he offered a rich equivalent, to the people, a free toleration, or a safe departure: but, after some fruitless treaty, he declared his resolution of finding either a throne, or a grave, under the walls of Constantinople. A sense of honor, and the fear of universal reproach, forbade Palæologus to resign the city into the hands of the Ottomans; and he determined to abide the last extremities of war.

Several days were employed by the Sultan in the preparations of the assault; and a respite was granted by his favorite science of astrology, which had fixed on the twenty-ninth of May, as the fortunate and fatal hour. On the evening of the twenty-seventh, he issued his final orders; assembled in his presence the military chiefs; and dispersed his heralds through the camp, to proclaim the duty, and the motives of the perilous enterprise. Fear is the first principle of a despotic government; and his menaces were expressed in the Oriental style, that the fugitives and deserters, had they the wings of a bird, should not escape from his inexorable justice. The greatest part of his bashaws and Janizaries were the offspring of

* The Turkish name for Infidels,—same as *Giaour*.

Christian parents; but the glories of the Turkish name were perpetuated by successive adoption; and, in the gradual change of individuals, the spirit of a legion, a regiment, or an *oda*, is kept alive by imitation and discipline. In this holy warfare, the Moslems were exhorted to purify their minds with prayer, and their bodies with seven ablutions; and to abstain from food, till the close of the ensuing day. A crowd of dervishes visited the tents, to instil the desire of martyrdom, and the assurance of spending an immortal youth amidst the rivers and gardens of paradise, and in the embraces of the black-eyed virgins. Yet Mohammed principally trusted to the efficacy of temporal and visible rewards. A double pay was promised to the victorious troops. "The city and the buildings," said Mohammed, "are mine; but I resign to your valor the captives and the spoil, the treasures of gold and beauty; be rich, and be happy. Many are the provinces of my empire: the intrepid soldier, who first ascends the walls of Constantinople, shall be rewarded with the government of the fairest and most wealthy; and my gratitude shall accumulate his honors and fortunes above the measure of his own hopes." Such various and potent motives diffused among the Turks a general ardor, regardless of life, and impatient for action. The camp reechoed with the Moslem shouts of, "God is God, there is but one God, and Mohammed is the apostle of God;" and the sea and land, from Galata to the Seven Towers, were illuminated by the blaze of their nocturnal fires.

Far different was the state of the Christians; who, with loud and impotent complaints, deplored the guilt, or the punishment, of their sins. The celestial image of the Virgin had been exposed in solemn procession, but their divine patroness was deaf to their entreaties; they accused the obstinacy of the Emperor, for refusing a timely surrender; anticipated the horrors of their fate; and sighed for the repose and security of Turkish servitude. The noblest of the Greeks, and the bravest of the allies, were summoned to the palace, to prepare them, on the evening of the twenty-eighth, for the duties and dangers of the general assault. The last speech of Palæologus was the

funeral oration of the Roman Empire ; he promised, he conjured, and he vainly attempted to infuse the hope which was extinguished in his own mind. In this world, all was comfortless and gloomy ; and neither the Gospel, nor the Church, have proposed any conspicuous recompense to the heroes who fall in the service of their country. But the example of their Prince, and the confinement of a siege, had armed these warriors with the courage of despair ; and the pathetic scene is described by the feelings of the historian, Phranza, who was himself present at this mournful assembly. They wept, they embraced; regardless of their families and fortunes, they devoted their lives ; and each commander, departing to his station, maintained, all night, a vigilant and anxious watch on the rampart. The Emperor, and some faithful companions, entered the dome of St. Sophia, which, in a few hours, was to be converted into a mosque, and devoutly received, with tears and prayers, the sacrament of the holy communion. He reposed, some moments, in the palace, which resounded with cries and lamentations, solicited the pardon of all whom he might have injured, and mounted on horseback, to visit the guards, and explore the motions of the enemy. The distress and fall of the last Constantine are more glorious, than the long prosperity of the Byzantine Cæsars.

In the confusion of darkness, an assailant may sometimes succeed ; but, in this great and general attack, the military judgement, and astrological knowledge of Mohammed, advised him to expect the morning, the memorable twenty-ninth of May, in the fourteen hundred and fifty-third year of the Christian era. The preceding night had been strenuously employed ; the troops, the cannon, and the fascines, were advanced to the edge of the ditch, which, in many parts, presented a smooth and level passage to the breach ; and his fourscore galleys almost touched with the prows, and their scaling-ladders, the less defensible walls of the harbor. Under pain of death, silence was enjoined ; but the physical laws of motion and sound, are not obedient to discipline or fear ; each individual might suppress his voice, and measure his foot-

steps, but the march and labor of thousands must inevitably produce a strange confusion of dissonant clamors, which reached the ears of the watchmen of the towers.

At daybreak, without the customary signal of the morning gun, the Turks assaulted the city, by sea and land; and the similitude of a twined or twisted thread has been applied to the closeness and continuity of their line of attack. The foremost ranks consisted of the refuse of the host, a voluntary crowd, who fought without order or command; of the feebleness of age or childhood, of peasants and vagrants, and of all who had joined the camp in the blind hope of plunder and martyrdom. The common impulse drove them onwards to the wall: the most audacious to climb were instantly precipitated; and not a dart, nor a bullet, of the Christians, was idly wasted on the accumulated throng. But their strength and ammunition were exhausted in this laborious defence; the ditch was filled with the bodies of the slain; they supported the footsteps of their companions; and of this devoted vanguard, the death was more serviceable than the life.

Under their respective bashaws and sanjaks,* the troops of Anatolia and Romania were successively led to the charge. Their progress was various and doubtful; but, after a conflict of two hours, the Greeks still maintained and improved their advantage; and the voice of the Emperor was heard, encouraging his soldiers to achieve, by a last effort, the deliverance of their country. In that fatal moment, the Janizaries arose, fresh, vigorous, and invincible. The Sultan himself, on horseback, with an iron mace in his hand, was the spectator and judge of their valor. He was surrounded by ten thousand of his domestic troops, whom he reserved for the decisive occasions, and the tide of battle was directed and impelled, by his voice and eye. His numerous ministers of justice were posted behind the line, to urge, to restrain, and to punish; and, if danger was in the front, shame and inev-

* *Sanjak*, or *Sangiac*, (Turkish, *horsetail*,) signifies, in the Turkish army, an officer who is allowed to bear only one horsetail, the pachas having two or three. The Sangiac is also commonly the governor of a smaller district of country, than a pachalic.

itable death were in the rear of the fugitives. The cries of fear and of pain were drowned in the martial music of drums, trumpets, and attaballs ; and experience has proved, that the mechanical operation of sounds, by quickening the circulation of the blood and spirits, will act on the human machine more forcibly than the eloquence of reason and honor. From the lines, the galleys, and the bridge, the Ottoman artillery thundered on all sides ; and the camp and city, the Greeks and the Turks, were involved in a cloud of smoke, which could only be dispelled by the final deliverance or destruction of the Roman Empire.

The single combats of the heroes of history or fable amuse our fancy, and engage our affections ; the skilful evolutions of war may inform the mind, and improve a necessary though pernicious science. But, in the uniform and odious pictures of a general assault, all is blood, and horror, and confusion ; nor shall I strive, at the distance of three centuries, and a thousand miles, to delineate a scene, of which there could be no spectators, and of which the actors themselves were incapable of forming any just or adequate idea.

The immediate loss of Constantinople may be ascribed to the bullet, or arrow, which pierced the gauntlet of John Justiniani. The sight of his blood, and the exquisite pain, appalled the courage of the chief, whose arms and counsels were the firmest rampart of the city. As he withdrew from his station in quest of a surgeon, his flight was perceived and stopped by the indefatigable Emperor. "Your wound," exclaimed Palæologus, "is slight ; the danger is pressing ; your presence is necessary ; and whither will you retire ?" "I will retire," said the trembling Genoese, "by the same road which God has opened to the Turks ;" and, at these words, he hastily passed through one of the breaches of the inner wall. By this pusillanimous act, he stained the honors of a military life ; and the few days which he survived in Galata, or the isle of Chios, were embittered by his own and the public reproach. His example was imitated by the greatest part of the Latin auxiliaries, and the defence began

to slacken, when the attack was pressed with redoubled vigor. The number of the Ottomans was fifty, perhaps a hundred, times superior to that of the Christians. The double walls were reduced by the cannon to a heap of ruins. In a circuit of several miles, some places must be found more easy of access, or more feebly guarded; and, if the besiegers could penetrate in a single point, the whole city was irrecoverably lost. The first who deserved the Sultan's reward was Hassan the Janizary, of gigantic stature and strength. With his cimeter in one hand, and his buckler in the other, he ascended the outward fortification. Of the thirty Janizaries, who were emulous of his valor, eighteen perished in the bold adventure. Hassan and his twelve companions had reached the summit; the giant was precipitated from the rampart; he rose on one knee, and was again oppressed by a shower of darts and stones. But his success had proved, that the achievement was possible: the walls and towers were instantly covered with a swarm of Turks; and the Greeks, now driven from the vantage ground, were overwhelmed by increasing multitudes.

Amidst these multitudes, the Emperor, who accomplished all the duties of a general and a soldier, was long seen, and finally lost. The nobles, who fought round his person, sustained, till their last breath, the honorable names of Palæologus and Cantacuzene. His mournful exclamation was heard, "Cannot there be found a Christian to cut off my head?" and his last fear was that of falling, alive, into the hands of the infidels. The prudent despair of Constantine cast away the purple. Amidst the tumult, he fell by an unknown hand, and his body was buried under a mountain of the slain.

After his death, resistance and order were no more. The Greeks fled toward the city; and many were pressed and stifled in the narrow pass of the gate of St. Romanus. The victorious Turks rushed through the breaches of the inner wall; and, as they advanced into the streets, they were soon joined by their brethren, who had forced the gate Phenar, on the side of the harbor. In the first heat of the pursuit, above two thousand Chris-

tians were put to the sword ; but avarice soon prevailed over cruelty ; and the victors acknowledged, that they should immediately have given quarter, if the valor of the Emperor and his chosen bands had not prepared them for a similar opposition in every part of the capital.

It was thus, after a siege of fifty-three days, that Constantinople, which had defied the power of Chosroes, the Chagan, and the caliphs, was irretrievably subdued by the arms of Mohammed the Second. Her empire, only, had been subverted by the Latins ; her religion was trampled in the dust, by the Moslem conquerors.

The tidings of misfortune fly with a rapid wing ; yet, such was the extent of Constantinople, that the more distant quarters might prolong, some moments, the happy ignorance of their ruin. But, in the general consternation, in the feelings of selfish or social anxiety, in the tumult and thunder of the assault, a *sleepless* night and morning must have elapsed ; nor can I believe that many Grecian ladies were awakened by the Janizaries from a sound and tranquil slumber. On the assurance of the public calamity, the houses and convents were instantly deserted ; and the trembling inhabitants flocked together, in the streets, like a herd of timid animals ; as if accumulated weakness could be productive of strength, or in the vain hope, that, amid the crowd, each individual might be safe and invisible. From every part of the capital, they flowed into the church of St. Sophia. In the space of an hour, the sanctuary, the choir, the nave, the upper and lower galleries, were filled with the multitude of fathers and husbands, of women and children, of priests, monks, and religious virgins. The doors were barred on the inside, and they sought protection from the sacred dome, which they had so lately abhorred as a profane and polluted edifice. Their confidence was founded on the prophecy of an enthusiast or impostor ; that, one day, the Turks would enter Constantinople, and pursue the Romans as far as the column of Constantine in the square before St. Sophia ; but that this would be the term of their calamities ; that an angel would descend from heaven, with a sword in his hand, and would deliver the empire, with that celestial

weapon, to a poor man, seated at the foot of the column. "Take this sword," would he say, "and avenge the people of the Lord." At these animating words, the Turks would instantly fly, and the victorious Romans would drive them from the West, and from all Anatolia, as far as the frontiers of Persia. It is on this occasion, that Ducas, with some fancy and much truth, upbraids the discord and obstinacy of the Greeks. "Had that angel appeared," exclaims the historian, "had he offered to exterminate your foes, if you would consent to the union of the Church, even then, in that fatal moment, you would have rejected your safety, or have deceived your God."

While they expected the descent of the tardy angel, the doors were broken with axes; and, as the Turks encountered no resistance, their bloodless hands were employed in selecting and securing the multitude of their prisoners. Youth, beauty, and the appearance of wealth, attracted their choice; and the right of property was decided among themselves by a prior seizure, by personal strength, and by the authority of command. In the space of an hour, the male captives were bound with cords, the females with their veils and girdles. The senators were linked with their slaves; the prelates with the porters of the church; and young men of a plebeian class, with noble maids, whose faces had been invisible to the sun and their nearest kindred. In this common captivity, the ranks of society were confounded; the ties of Nature were cut asunder; and the inexorable soldier was careless of the father's groans, the tears of the mother, and the lamentations of the children. The loudest in their wailings were the nuns, who were torn from the altar with naked bosoms, outstretched hands, and dishevelled hair; and we should piously believe, that few could be tempted to prefer the vigils of the harem to those of the monastery. Of these unfortunate Greeks, of these domestic animals, whole strings were rudely driven through the streets; and, as the conquerors were eager to return for more prey, their trembling pace was quickened with menaces and blows. At the same hour, a similar rapine was exercised in all the churches and monasteries, in all the palaces

and habitations of the capital ; nor could any place, however sacred or sequestered, protect the persons or the property of the Greeks.

Above sixty thousand of this devoted people were transported from the city to the camp and fleet ; exchanged or sold, according to the caprice or interest of their masters, and dispersed in remote servitude, through the provinces of the Ottoman empire. Among these, we may notice some remarkable characters. The historian Phranza, first chamberlain and principal secretary, was involved, with his family, in the common lot. After suffering four months the hardships of slavery, he recovered his freedom. In the ensuing Winter, he ventured to Adrianople, and ransomed his wife from the *mir bashi*, or master of the horse ; but his two children, in the flower of youth and beauty, had been seized for the use of Mohammed himself. The daughter of Phranza died in the seraglio, perhaps a virgin. His son, in the fifteenth year of his age, preferred death to infamy, and was stabbed by the hand of the Sultan. A deed thus inhuman cannot, surely, be expiated by the taste and liberality with which he released a Grecian matron, and her two daughters, on receiving a Latin ode from Philelphus, who had chosen a wife in that noble family. The pride or cruelty of Mohammed would have been most sensibly gratified by the capture of a Roman legate ; but the dexterity of Cardinal Isidore eluded the search, and he escaped from Galata, in a plebeian habit.

The chain and entrance of the outward harbor was still occupied by the Italian ships of merchandise and war. They had signalized their valor in the siege ; they embraced the moment of retreat, while the Turkish mariners were dissipated in the pillage of the city. When they hoisted sail, the beach was covered with a suppliant and lamentable crowd. But the means of transportation were scanty. The Venetians and Genoese selected their countrymen ; and, notwithstanding the fairest promises of the Sultan, the inhabitants of Galata evacuated their houses, and embarked with their most precious effects.

In the fall and the sack of great cities, an historian is

condemned to repeat the tale of uniform calamity ; the same effects must by produced by the same passions ; and, when those passions may be indulged without control, small, alas ! is the difference between civilized and savage man. Amidst the vague exclamations of bigotry and hatred, the Turks are not accused of a wanton or immoderate effusion of Christian blood ; but, according to their maxims, (the maxims of antiquity,) the lives of the vanquished were forfeited ; and the legitimate reward of the conqueror was derived from the service, the sale, or the ransom, of his captives, of both sexes. The wealth of Constantinople had been granted by the Sultan to his victorious troops ; and the rapine of an hour is more productive than the industry of years. But, as no regular division was attempted of the spoil, the respective shares were not determined by merit ; and the rewards of valor were stolen away by the followers of the camp, who had declined the toil and danger of the battle. The narrative of their depredations could not afford either amusement or instruction. The total amount, in the last poverty of the empire, has been valued at four millions of ducats ;* and, of this sum, a small part was the property of the Venetians, the Genoese, the Florentines, and the merchants of Ancona. Of these foreigners, the stock was improved in quick and perpetual circulation. But the riches of the Greeks were displayed in the idle ostentation of palaces and wardrobes, or deeply buried in treasures of ingots and old coin, lest it should be demanded at their hands, for the defence of their country.

The profanation and plunder of the monasteries and churches excited the most tragic complaints. The dome of St. Sophia itself, the earthly heaven, the second firmament, the vehicle of the cherubim, the throne of the glory of God, was despoiled of the oblations of ages ; and the gold and silver, the pearls and jewels, the vases and sacerdotal ornaments, were most wickedly converted to the service of mankind. After the divine images had been stripped of all that could be valuable to a profane eye, the

* A ducat is a gold coin,—value about $2,07½ cts.

canvass, or the wood, was torn, or broken, or burnt, or trod under foot, or applied, in the stables, or the kitchen, to the vilest uses. The example of sacrilege was imitated, however, from the Latin conquerors of Constantinople.

Perhaps, instead of joining the public clamor, a philosopher will observe, that, in the decline of the arts, the workmanship could not be more valuable than the work. He will more seriously deplore the loss of the Byzantine libraries, which were destroyed or scattered, in the general confusion. One hundred and twenty thousand manuscripts are said to have disappeared; ten volumes might be purchased for a single ducat; and the same ignominious price included the whole works of Aristotle and Homer, the noblest productions of the science and literature of ancient Greece. We may reflect, with pleasure, that an inestimable portion of our classic treasures was safely deposited in Italy; and that the mechanics of a German town had invented an art, which derides the havoc of time and barbarism.

From the first hour of the memorable twenty-ninth of May, disorder and rapine prevailed in Constantinople, till the eighth hour of the same day; when the Sultan himself passed, in triumph, through the gate of St. Romanus. He was attended by his viziers, bashaws, and guards, each of whom (says a Byzantine historian) was robust as Hercules, dexterous as Apollo, and equal in battle to any ten of the race of ordinary mortals. The conqueror gazed, with satisfaction and wonder, on the strange though splendid appearance of the domes and palaces, so dissimilar from the style of Oriental architecture. In the hippodrome, or *atmeidan*, his eye was attracted by the twisted column of the three serpents; and, as a trial of his strength, he shattered, with his iron mace or battle-axe, the under jaw of one of these monsters, which, in the eyes of the Turks, were the idols, or talismans of the city.

At the principal door of St. Sophia, he alighted from his horse, and entered the dome; and, such was his jealous regard for that monument of his glory, that, on observing a zealous Mussulman in the act of breaking the marble

pavement, he admonished him, with his cimeter, that, if the spoil and captives were granted to the soldiers, the public and private buildings had been reserved for the Prince. By his command, the metropolis of the Eastern Church was transformed into a mosque ; the rich and portable instruments of superstition had been removed ; the crosses were thrown down ; and the walls, which were covered with images and mosaics, were washed and purified, and restored to a state of naked simplicity.

On the same day, or on the ensuing Friday, the *muezzin*, or crier, ascended the most lofty turret, and proclaimed the *ezan*, or public invitation in the name of God and his Prophet ; the imam preached ; and Mohammed the Second performed the *namaz* of prayer and thanksgiving, on the great altar, where the Christian mysteries had so lately been celebrated before the last of the Cæsars. From St. Sophia he proceeded to the august but desolate mansion of a hundred successors of the great Constantine ; but which, in a few hours, had been stripped of the pomp of royalty. A melancholy reflection, on the vicissitudes of human greatness, forced itself on his mind ; and he repeated an elegant distich of Persian poetry : " The spider has wove his web in the Imperial palace ; and the owl hath sung her watch-song on the towers of Afrasiab."

Yet his mind was not satisfied, nor did the victory seem complete, till he was informed of the fate of Constantine ; whether he had escaped, or been made prisoner, or had fallen in the battle. Two Janizaries claimed the honor and reward of his death ; the body, under a heap of slain, was discovered by the golden eagles embroidered on his shoes. The Greeks acknowledged, with tears, the head of their late Emperor ; and, after exposing the bloody trophy, Mohammed bestowed on his rival the honors of a decent funeral. After his decease, Lucas Notaras, great duke, and first minister of the Empire, was the most important prisoner. When he offered his person and his treasures at the foot of the throne,—" And why," said the indignant Sultan, " did you not employ these treasures in the defence of your prince and country ?" " They were yours," answered the slave ; " God had reserved them for your

hands." "If he reserved them for me," replied the despot, "how have you presumed to withhold them so long, by a fruitless and fatal resistance?" The great duke alleged the obstinacy of the strangers, and some secret encouragement from the Turkish vizier; and, from this perilous interview, he was at length dismissed, with the assurance of pardon and protection. Mohammed condescended to visit his wife, a venerable princess, oppressed with sickness and grief; and his consolation for her misfortunes was in the most tender strain of humanity and filial reverence.

A similar clemency was extended to the principal officers of state, of whom, several were ransomed at his expense; and, during some days, he declared himself the friend and father of the vanquished people. But the scene was soon changed; and, before his departure, the hippodrome streamed with the blood of his noblest captives. His perfidious cruelty is execrated by the Christians; they adorn, with the colors of heroic martyrdom, the execution of the great duke, and his two sons; and his death is ascribed to the generous refusal of delivering his children to the tyrant's lust. Yet a Byzantine historian has dropped an unguarded word of conspiracy, deliverance, and Italian succor. Such treason may be glorious; but the rebel, who bravely ventures, has justly forfeited his life; nor should we blame a conqueror, for destroying the enemies, whom he can no longer trust. On the eighteenth of June, the victorious Sultan returned to Adrianople; and smiled at the base and hollow embassies of the Christian princes, who viewed their approaching ruin in the fall of the Eastern empire.

Constantinople had been left naked and desolate, without a prince or a people. But she could not be despoiled of the incomparable situation which marks her for the metropolis of a great empire; and the genius of the place will ever triumph over the accidents of time and fortune. Boursa and Adrianople, the ancient seats of the Ottomans, sunk into provincial towns; and Mohammed the Second established his own residence, and that of his successors, on the same commanding spot, which had been chosen by

Constantine. The fortifications of Galata, which might afford a shelter to the Latins, were prudently destroyed; but the damage of the Turkish cannon was soon repaired; and, before the month of August, great quantities of lime had been burnt, for the restoration of the walls of the capital. As the entire property of the soil and buildings, whether public or private, profane or sacred, was now transferred to the conqueror, he first separated a space of eight furlongs from the point of the triangle for the establishment of his seraglio, or palace. It is here, in the bosom of luxury, that the *grand signior* (as he has been emphatically named, by the Italians) appears to reign over Europe and Asia; but his person on the shores of the Bosphorus may not always be secure from the insults of a hostile navy. In the new character of a mosque, the cathedral of St. Sophia was endowed with an ample revenue, crowned with lofty minarets, and surrounded with groves and fountains, for the devotion and refreshment of the Moslems. The same model was imitated in the *jami*, or royal mosques; and the first of these was built, by Mohammed himself, on the ruins of the church of the holy apostles, and the tombs of the Greek emperors. On the third day after the conquest, the grave of Abou Ayub, or Job, who had fallen in the first siege of the Arabs, was revealed in a vision; and it is before the sepulchre of the martyr, that the new Sultans are girded with the sword of empire. Constantinople no longer appertains to the Roman historian; nor shall I enumerate the civil and religious edifices that were profaned or erected by its Turkish masters. The population was speedily renewed; and, before the end of September, five thousand families of Anatolia and Romania had obeyed the royal mandate, which enjoined them, under pain of death, to occupy their new habitations in the capital. The throne of Mohammed was guarded by the numbers and fidelity of his Moslem subjects. But his rational policy aspired to collect the remnant of the Greeks; and they returned, in crowds, as soon as they were assured of their lives, their liberties, and the free exercise of their religion. In the election and investiture of a Patriarch, the ceremonial of the By-

zantine court was revived and imitated. With a mixture of satisfaction and horror, they beheld the Sultan on his throne ; who delivered into the hands of Gennadius the crosier, or pastoral staff, the symbol of his ecclesiastical office ; who conducted the Patriarch to the gate of the seraglio, presented him with a horse, richly caparisoned, and directed the viziers and bashaws, to lead him to the palace, which had been allotted for his residence. The churches of Constantinople were shared between the two religions ; their limits were marked ; and, till it was infringed by Selim, the grandson of Mohammed, the Greeks enjoyed, above sixty years, the benefit of this equal partition. Encouraged by the ministers of the divan, who wished to elude the fanaticism of the Sultan, the Christian advocates presumed to allege, that this division had been an act, not of generosity, but of justice ; not a concession, but a compact ; and that, if one-half of the city had been taken by storm, the other moiety had surrendered on the faith of a sacred capitulation. The original grant had indeed been consumed by fire ; but the loss was supplied by the testimony of three aged Janizaries, who remembered the transaction ; and their venal oaths are of more weight in the opinion of Cantemir, than the positive and unanimous consent of the history of the times.

THE APPEARANCE OF MARTIN LUTHER BEFORE THE DIET OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE, AT WORMS, IN THE YEAR 1521.

This account is taken from the History of the German Reformation, by Philip Marheinecke, D. D. Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin, 2 vols. Berlin, 1816. The work relates the various events, as far as possible, in the words of eye-witnesses, correspondents, or other contemporaries. It has, therefore, a peculiar intrinsic as well as external character of originality, which gives to the passage relating to Luther's appearance at Worms, a very lively interest. Every reader, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, will admit, that Luther's Declaration, at Worms, was an act of great historical importance. It is one of those events, to which we must necessarily recur, in contemplating the main features of the history of mankind; —one of those acts, for which preparation has been made, by a long succession of changes and movements, and the effects of which, in turn, are visible for centuries ;—one of those acts, in fine, by which a new order of things comes to be irrevocably established, and a portion of mankind pledged to its support. Such acts can sometimes be traced by the shrewd historian, only ; for it is not necessary, that they should manifest themselves as striking events, speaking directly to every mind. When, however, they unite with their historical importance a dramatic interest, as is the case with the present one ; when mighty interests are personated by emperors, and cardinals, and a humble monk, or a nation is visibly represented by an august Diet, and we not only feel convinced of the great importance of the event, but see it acted out before us, in distinct, contrasting forms; then, indeed, they acquire the highest interest of which history admits.

The Reformation had begun to extend widely over Germany ; the writings of Luther were anxiously read, the more so, perhaps, since they had been prohibited by the Pope. Luther had been excommunicated. The Emperor Charles V. had proposed to the Diet, (that is, to the assembled estates of the Germanic empire,—the electors, dukes, princes, counts, and barons, as well as the prelates,

of the empire, and the delegates of the free imperial cities,) to order the writings of Luther to be sent in, and burned. But the national feeling was very decidedly against such condemnation of writings, on the part of Rome, without sufficient inquiry into them in Germany, and without first giving to Luther a hearing. The Emperor saw himself obliged to grant to the German Reformer a safeconduct, to go, unmolested, to, and return from, Worms, where the Emperor's first Diet was held. This, perhaps, he was the more willing to do, in consideration of the aid he had derived in his election, to the crown of Germany, from the Elector of Saxony, whose subject Luther was. The last named prince had repeatedly declared, that he was unable and unwilling to decide upon Luther's writings, for himself; and that he agreed to what Luther had always asked, a fair hearing; nor was he willing to acknowledge the absolute power of Rome, to decide, in matters of such importance, without patient inquiry into the views of both sides. Before Luther went to Worms, the Pope had already, on the 28th of March, included him and all his adherents, in the famous bull, '*In Cœna Domini.*'* In other words, Luther had been included by the Pope in the number of condemned and excommunicated heretics, a list of whom is every year publicly read, either by the Pontiff himself, or a delegate. Luther was not intimidated by this act of Papal tyranny; on the contrary, he published a sarcastic reply to, and commentary on, the bull, in the style of the age.

To form a just estimate of the character of Luther, we must consider, not only the personal danger, to which he exposed himself, in going to Worms, reminded, by his friends, as he seriously was, of the fate of Huss, but also, the towering courage which it required, for an humble individual, like himself, to take so bold a stand, before the assembled empire, against the Pope and Church. We must recollect the vast political power of the Church, and, what is far more, the immense moral power of a vast institution, entwined, as that was, in a thousand ways, with all the branches of life, with the affections of men, with science, with the very logic of the age, with the arts, poetry, and literature, with all and every thing that occu-

* So called, according to the usual mode of naming bulls, because beginning with the words, "In Cœna Domini."

pies the mind of man, as well in the higher as in the more ordinary spheres of action and interest. If we consider how early he had to take this bold stand, with what unwavering firmness he did it, and how worthily he acquitted himself, it will probably be admitted, that no act in his life more prominently shows the heroic element in his soul, which, upon close and calm examination, must be considered as one of the foremost traits in his powerful character. The account is taken from Vol. I., beginning with page 255.

The carriage, in which Luther drove to Worms, had been given him by the town-council of Wittemberg, for which he politely thanked them in a letter. At Weimar, Duke John had furnished him with some travelling money. At Erfurt, his reception was peculiarly solemn. Crotus, then Rector of the University, accompanied by Cobanns Hessen, Curicius Cordus, John Draco, and others, forty in number, all on horseback, with many people on foot, received him at the distance of two (German) miles from Erfurt, and accompanied the carriage which contained Luther and his companions, into the town. At the entrance, and in all the streets of the town, through which the cortége passed, the throng was still greater. He also preached here, at the request of many persons, in the convent of the Augustines. His friend Coban has sung his entry into Erfurt, and sojourn there, in four beautiful Latin poems. At Eisenach, he was taken sick, and was bled, and the burgomaster of the town administered to him a "noble water," after which, he fell asleep. The next morning, he proceeded on his journey. Whenever he entered a town, multitudes met him, desirous to see that bold man, who dared to take a stand against the Pope. Some gave him sore comfort, by saying, that, considering the many cardinals and bishops at Worms, there could be little doubt, but that they would soon burn him to powder, as they had burned Huss, at Constance. But Luther replied, "Though they should kindle fire, between Wittemberg and Worms, whose flames should reach to the heavens, I would still appear in the name of the Lord, and step into the very jaws of Behemoth, and

profess Christ, and let him rule." From Frankfort, he wrote to Spalatine, having heard, in the mean time, of the Imperial edict :* "We are coming, dear Spalatine, although satan, by means of sickness, has thrown many obstacles in my path ; for I have been indisposed, all the way from Eisenach to this place, and am so still, to a degree very unusual with me. I also hear that the Emperor Charles has issued a mandate, in order to intimidate me. Yet Christ lives ; therefore, we will proceed into Worms, in despite of all the hosts of hell, and the powers of the air. I am resolved to terrify and contemn satan. Therefore, prepare a lodging for us."

An attempt was also made, and he afterwards stated, that it was through the intrigues of the Elector of Mayence, to induce him not to take the direct road to Worms, but to go first to the castle of Ebernburg, and there converse with the cunning Glapius. Perhaps, there was no evil design in all this ; especially, if we consider that this castle belonged to Francis von Sickingen, and that this knight himself united with the others, in requesting that conversation, through the intervention of Bucerus. Luther, however, viewed the plan with suspicion, and feared that he might be detained there, until the only remaining three days of the safeconduct should have elapsed. He therefore answered, resolutely, "that he would proceed

* As may easily be supposed, many intrigues had been employed by the enemies of Luther, either to prevent his appearing at Worms, or, at least, to prevent the grant of an Imperial safeconduct. Thus, the Emperor proposed to the Elector of Saxony, whose subject Luther was, that he should receive a safeconduct from the Elector only, either in order to intimidate Luther, or that he might seize upon him, if necessary. But the Elector declined this proposal ; and, on the sixth of March, Luther was cited, by the Emperor, to appear, within twenty-one days. It is remarkable, that, although the Papal bull was known, Luther is addressed, in the citation,—"The honest, our dear and pious Dr. Martin Luther, of the Augustines." There was not a word about recantation, either in the citation, or the letter of safeconduct. The princes, through whose territories he had to pass, likewise gave him letters of safeconduct. Caspar Sturm was appointed herald, to accompany Luther in person ; and, for that purpose, was called 'Germany.' The Elector was not without apprehension, and wrote, with his own hand, to the town-council of Wittemberg, to protect him well, and, if need were, to give him a guard, as well as to fit him out decently for the journey.

whither he had been summoned; and that he might be found at Worms." At Oppenheim, Spalatine sent him word, not to go to Worms, and expose himself to such danger. Luther answered him, "If there were as many devils in Worms, as tiles on the roofs, still I would go thither." When, a few days before his death, he related this occurrence, he added, "for I was fearless; I feared nothing. God can make one thus daring. I do not know, whether I should now be so cheerful."

He arrived at Worms, on the sixteenth of April. His carriage was preceded by the Imperial herald, in his official dress, with the Imperial eagle, and his pursuivant. Tartus Jonas, with his secretary, followed the carriage. Many of the nobles had gone to meet him; and when, at ten o'clock, he drove into the town, more than two thousand people accompanied him to his lodgings, not far from the White Swan Inn, where Lewis, Elector of the Palatinate, had taken up his quarters. In the same house with him, resided the Saxon counsellors, Frederic of Thunau and Philip of Feilitsch, both knights, as likewise Ulrich von Pappenheim, marshal of the empire. This is related by Vitus Warbeck, canon of Altenburg, who, on account of his knowledge of the French language, was then at the court of the Elector Frederic, and gave these accounts of Luther's entry into Worms to Duke John, brother to the Elector of Saxony.

The next morning, he was cited, by Pappenheim, the hereditary marshal of the empire, to appear, that afternoon, in the council of the empire. This nobleman came for him, in person, at four o'clock, and, together with the heralds, preceded him on his way to the council. The press of the people, in the streets, was so great, that many climbed upon the roofs to see him, and it became necessary, in order to avoid the multitude, to go through some houses and gardens. When Luther was about entering the council chamber, the renowned general, George Frundsberg, tapped him on the shoulder, and said, "Little monk, little monk,* thou art now going to take a

* The original of the above has the diminutive of the word *monk*, which, I am well aware, is used, in this case, by way of cheering en-

stand, the like of which neither I, nor many other generals have ever taken, even in the critical hour of battle. Art thou of right opinion, and sure in thy cause? then proceed, in God's name, and be sure, God will never abandon thee." Ulrich of Hutten (a famous knight) had likewise comforted him, by two excellent letters, which are addressed, "To Martin Luther, the invincible theologian and evangelist, my reverend friend." The first begins thus: "'The Lord hear thee, in the day of trouble! The name of the God of Jacob defend thee! Send thee help from the sanctuary, and strengthen thee out of Zion! Grant thee thy heart's desire: and fulfil all thy mind. The Lord perform all thy petitions, and hear thee, from His holy heaven; even with the strength of His right hand.' For what else can I wish you, most worthy Luther, most honored father, in these times? Be comforted; be strong. You see what a game you now have to play, and what is the point at issue. You may hope every thing of me. If you remain constant, I 'll support you to my latest breath." Some even ventured to express their approbation of him, in the meeting of high personages, princes, counts, barons, bishops, and other delegates. According to the report of an eyewitness, there were upwards of five thousand people, foreign and German, in the chamber, the ante-chambers, and outside, at the windows. Luther was cheered, on all sides, and exhorted to take courage, and not to fear those that can kill the body, only. Lord Pappenheim (the title of count was not conferred, till a later period) reminded him, that now, standing before the Emperor and estates, he should say nothing, except when called upon. John von Eck,* 'official' to the Elector, archbishop of Treves, stepped forward, and, in the Emperor's name, asked, whether the books, lying there, which were pointed out to him, were his, and

dearment, or, at least, of encouraging familiarity; while *little*, if mistaken for a term to express size, would ill apply to Luther, who was broadly framed. Yet I have thought that "little monk" comes nearer to the original, than the simple word monk would have done.

* One of Luther's most vehement antagonists. Some of Luther's answers are no less vehement.

whether he would renounce the opinions contained in them. Upon this, D. Schurf, who had been allowed him as an advocate and protector, called out: "Let the books be mentioned by name." When this had been done, Luther answered the first question in the affirmative, but requested some time for reflection, before he should answer the second. This, the Emperor granted. It was highly proper, both out of respect for his own character, and that of the assembly, that Luther should show the greatest circumspection in relation to these high and sacred matters, and scrupulously avoid, from this momentous hour, any thing which might appear like inconsiderate want of gravity, or even like violent passion. When he was cited to appear again, the next day, before the council of the empire, every one was most anxious to hear the decisive answer. The herald was sent for him, again, at four o'clock; but he was obliged to wait until six, so great was the crowd of people. The lights were already burning in the chamber. When, at last, he was ushered in, and had been ordered to speak, he addressed the assembly, in German, as follows: "Most gracious Emperor, electors, princes, and lords: I appear, obedient, at the time which was last evening appointed; and pray, through God's mercy, that your majesty, and you, my lords, would most graciously listen to this just and true cause, for such, I trust, it is; and if, from ignorance, I should perhaps fail to give to every one his becoming title, or otherwise to bear myself according to the customs of courts, that you would graciously pardon me, as one who has not lived in courts, but dwelt in monasteries, and who can testify to nothing else respecting myself, but that, in every thing which I have thus far taught and written, with a simple heart, I have had in view, and sought for, only the honor of God, and the profit and salvation of the faithful; and wished, that these should be honestly instructed in the truth." He then made a distinction between his different books. In some, he said, he had treated of faith and Christian works, conformably to true Christian doctrine, according to the testimony even of his adversaries; these, he could not take back. "Nay," said he, "even the Papal bull,

hasty and violent though it be, considers some of my books as not of dangerous tendency, although it condemns them, by a frightful, unnatural sentence." In the other works, he said, he had attacked the authority of the Pope, and the doctrine of the Papists, who, by their false doctrine and wicked example, have ruined Christendom, in body and soul. For nobody, he continued, can deny or conceal,—because experience proves it, and all pious hearts deplore it,—that, by the law of the Pope and doctrines of human device, the consciences of the faithful are monstrously and wretchedly entangled, burdened, and tormented, and the property, estates, and possessions, especially those of the high-renowned German nation, have been exhausted and swallowed up, with incredible tyranny, and, to this day, continue so to be, without opposition. What he had advanced in these books, he could not retract, any more than in the case of the former; since, should he do so, he only should confirm his enemies in their tyranny and malice. "O!" he exclaimed, "what a great and shameful cover of all sorts of knavery and tyranny, blessed God, should I then make of myself!" The third class of his books, he added, was directed against some private persons, who had dared to defend Roman tyranny, and to falsify and suppress the pious doctrine which he had taught. In these, he had sometimes shown himself more violent than was befitting his office, yet neither could he take back these, lest he should encourage people to defend, in future, all sorts of wicked things, and bring about new horrors and violence. "Yet," continued he, "since I am a man, and not God, I cannot otherwise help or defend my books, than as my Lord and Saviour did his doctrine, who, when he was questioned respecting his doctrine, before the high-priest Annas, and had received a blow on the cheek from the servant of the high-priest, said, 'If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil.' If, then, the Lord, who knew He could not err, did not refuse to hear testimony against His doctrine, even from a low and wicked servant, how much more should I, who am but dust and ashes, and who am so liable to err, desire the same, and wait to see, whether any

one will testify against my doctrine. Therefore, I pray, through the mercy of God, your imperial majesty, your electoral and princely highnesses, or whosoever else will do it, be he high or low, to give evidence, and prove to me, from the prophetic and apostolic writings, that I have erred, so that I may be persuaded of it, and I shall be willing and ready to renounce every error; and will be the first to throw my books into the fire.

"Thus, I truly think that I have sufficiently considered and weighed the disturbances, danger, and contest, which my books are said to have caused, and of which I was so distinctly reminded, yesterday. To me, indeed, it is the highest pleasure and joy, to see how contest and discord arise, for the sake of the word of God; for this is the nature, course, and fate, of his word. Therefore, it is to be considered, how inscrutable God is, in his counsels and judgements; so that perhaps that, which is designed as a means of allaying contest and discord, may become an irresistible flood of danger to body and soul, if, trusting to our own power and wisdom, we begin with persecution and perversion of the word of God. Moreover, care is to be taken, that the government of this most excellent and kindly youth,* the Emperor Charles, (in whom, next to God, we have much hope,) do not begin, much less continue and end, in evil and unhappiness. I might easily explain and illustrate this remark still further, by examples from Holy Writ, as in the case of Pharaoh, of the king of Babylon, and the kings of Israel, who brought the greatest misery upon themselves, when they meant to pacify and maintain their kingdoms, by their most prudent plans and counsels. For He it is, 'who taketh the wise in their own craftiness,' who 'removeth the mountains, and they know not.' (Job v. 13, ix. 5.) Therefore, men should fear God.

"But, for brevity's sake, I will omit further examples, now. I have not said all this, because I supposed that such distinguished personages need to be informed by me, and reminded of their duty, but because I would not, and

* Charles was then twenty-one years old.

ought not, refuse my most dutiful service to the German nation, to my dear fatherland. And thus would I most humbly recommend myself to your imperial majesty and your electoral and princely highnesses, and devoutly pray, that you would not allow yourselves to be moved by my adversaries, without cause."

This and more was spoken by Luther in German. But it was known that the Emperor understood Spanish, better than German, and did not like the German language. "Therefore," says Luther, (in his account of this day,) "while I was thus speaking, they asked me, to repeat it over, again, in Latin. I felt very warm, and was in a profuse perspiration, partly on account of the crowd, partly because I stood before princes; and Mr. Friederic of Thunau said, 'If you cannot do it, this will answer, Doctor.' But I repeated all I had said, in Latin. This pleased the Duke Frederic, the Elector, exceedingly well."

All this Luther did, with great humility, and a submissive demeanor; nor did he speak loud, nor vehemently, but in a most decorous and exceedingly modest manner, yet with great cheerfulness and firmness. When, however, the 'official' of Treves interrupted him, in a menacing tone, and demanded a round and direct answer, whether he would recant or not, Luther replied: "Since his imperial majesty and their electoral and princely highnesses demand a plain, simple, and direct, answer, I will give one, which shall have neither horns nor teeth, namely, this:—Unless I can be persuaded and convinced, by proofs from Holy Writ, or by fair reason and argument, (for I neither allow the Pope, nor the councils, to be sole authority, since it is known and manifest, that they have often erred, and have contradicted one another,) unless, therefore, I can be confuted in respect to the passages, which I have quoted, since my conscience is hemmed in by the word of God, I cannot and will not recant, because it is neither safe nor prudent to do aught against conscience. Here I stand; I cannot do otherwise; so help me God! Amen."

"When I had thus finished," says Luther, in his ac-

count, "they allowed me to depart, and two attendants were appointed, to conduct and accompany me. Upon this, a tumult arose, and the nobles called out, 'Do they lead you away prisoner?' I answered, 'they only accompany me.' In this manner, I returned to my inn, and have never since appeared in the council of the empire."

The cheerful profession of the truth, which Luther had here made, in the face of the whole German empire, won him the hearts of many nobles and princes; even such, as did not remain faithful and firm in the profession of the gospel, in after times; and also of others, who, from considerations of caution, did not openly express their approbation. The old Duke Eric of Brunswick, however, sent him a silver can of Einbeck beer,* and bade him refresh himself with it. When Luther asked, what prince had so graciously thought of him, he was told, that it was the Duke, who had himself first drunk from the can. Luther, no longer fearing any evil design, drank, likewise, and said, "As Duke Eric has thought of me, this day, so may our Lord Christ think of him, in his last struggle."

Duke Eric remembered these words, in his last hour; and asked a page, Francis von Kramm, standing near his bed, to comfort him with evangelic comfort. "It is certainly true," says the good Spalatine, "that God honored the Doctor Martin, at the Diet, in such a manner, that he had many more spectators and beholders, than all the princes and lords. His lodgings were, every day, thronged with people, as long as he remained at Worms. Thus have I, Spalatine, seen with him, among other counts and lords, Landgrave Philip, of Hessia, Duke William, of Brunswick, and Count William, of Henneberg. Thus, also, my most gracious master, Duke Frederic, Elector of Saxony, felt such an admiration of the Christian, courageous answer of the Doctor Martin, before the imperial majesty, and the estates of the empire, in Latin and German, that his electoral grace, before he sat down to sup-

* Einbeck, or Eimbeck, a town not far from Gottingen, noted for its good beer.

per, sent for me to the inn of Doctor Martin ; and, when his electoral grace was about to wash himself, and perceived me, he beckoned me to follow him into the chamber. And when I entered, his electoral grace said, with great admiration, 'Well has the father, Doctor Martin, spoken before the lord our Emperor, and all the princes and estates of the empire ; but he has been too brave for me.' Now," adds Spalatine, "my most gracious master, just mentioned, was, as yet, somewhat fainthearted. He certainly loved Doctor Martin, and would have felt great sorrow, had any evil befallen him ; he would not willingly have done any thing against the word of God, but neither would he have been willing to draw upon himself the ill-will of the Emperor." How much the Elector took the affair of Luther to heart appears, especially, from some letters, which this prince wrote with his own hand, during the Diet, to his brother John. In one, dated, January the sixteenth, (and, consequently, before Luther had been cited,) he says, among other things, that "he perceives, that there are daily consultations against Luther, how he may be excommunicated by the Pope, and outlawed by the Emperor, and that they try to get at him, in all manner of ways. This," he continues, "is done, by those who shine in red hats ;* and by the Romans, with their adherents." He adds, moreover, that, on the same day, Landgrave Philip had arrived with a troop of six hundred horse, in which were many brave men ; that the same had, immediately after, visited him, and then his father-in-law, Duke George. Duke George, he says, talks with him, (the Elector,) "in a very friendly manner. How the heart is," he adds, "God alone knows." Under date of January the thirtieth, he writes, that Martin's affair is in the same state, as he described it, lately, but that he hopes that, through God's mercy, truth will come to light. In another letter, of March the twenty-fifth, he complains of the press of business, and that he is obliged to sit, daily, from eight to nine hours in the council chamber. "Doctor Martin," he continues, "has been cited, but I do not

* The cardinals.

know whether he will come ; every thing goes slowly ; I cannot promise much good." On April the sixteenth, he wrote : " I do not know whether Luther will come ; decrees against him have been publicly affixed to the walls, &c. [These were the decrees against his books.] The cardinals and bishops are strongly opposed to him ; may God rule every thing for the best. Would to God, I could induce Martin, to some fairness ; it should not be wanting in me." On April twenty-third, after Luther had been heard, he wrote : " If it rested with me, I should be willing to assist Martin, in all things lawful. Your grace may believe me, that I am perplexed in these matters ; you have strange tidings to hear from me, respecting them. It seems, they contemplate no less, than to thrust him out into misery. Whoever shows, in any degree, that he loves him, is at once set down as a heretic. May God direct every thing for the best, who verily will not abandon the just cause. How Luther has been dismissed, I will write in my next." On May the fifth : " Martin's affair stands thus ; he must go into misery ; there is no remedy ; but the issue remains with God. When, with God's assistance, I join your grace, I shall have to tell you wonders. Your grace may believe me, that not only Annas and Caiaphas, but also Pilate and Herod, oppose Luther." Other measures were soon after taken, to induce Luther to some recantation. Not to mention the Papal theologian, Cochlaeus,* (who was the bitter enemy of Luther, at a later period, although he boasted, afterwards, of having shed tears during his attempts at inducing him to recant, at Worms,) there were not a few, who thought that the easiest way of proceeding with Luther would be, to refuse him a safeconduct home. Among these, was, unfortunately, the Elector of Brandenburg. But the Emperor Charles, as well as the Elector of the Palatinate, and especially, (which is most to be wondered at,) Duke George, of Saxony, manfully opposed this proposition. The Elector Lewis, of the Palatinate, with whom, as Mathesius says, was buried German peace and quiet, had

* His original German name was Löfler.

such a quarrel with the Elector Joachim of Brandenburg, upon this subject, that, as Luther relates, they grasped their knives. But Duke George frankly declared, that the German princes would never suffer so shameful a violation of the safeconduct, especially at the first Diet of the Emperor ; that this would not agree with ancient German honesty ; that what had been promised must be performed. Which, indeed, was spoken in a noble and princely spirit, and must, in fairness, be praised in one, who was, in other respects, a vehement enemy.

Hopes were still entertained, of bringing Luther, by private conversations, to a change of sentiments. In a conference of this sort, at which Reichard, archbishop of Treves, the Elector Joachim, of Brandenburg, Duke George, and some counts and deputies of the cities, were present, the chancellor of Baden, Doctor Vehus, conducted the conversation, and, after that, the archbishop of Treves took Luther, privately, into a chamber, where the 'official,' Eck, and Cochlaeus were likewise present. On the next day, April the twenty-fifth, Vehus, with Doctor Peutinger, continued the labor, both before and after noon. But the Elector Frederic was not willing that Luther should hold discussions with them, alone ; and sent some of his counsellors to join them. At length, the archbishop of Treves took him aside, once more, upon which, Luther declared, he knew no better counsel than that of Gamaliel : " If this counsel or this work, be of man, it will perish ; but if it be of God, you will not be able to smother it." He added, " If my cause is not of God, it will not last beyond two or three years ; if it be of God, it cannot be stifled." Upon this, the Elector (the archbishop of Treves was one of the electors) asked, whether nothing could possibly be done, by the recantation of certain articles. Luther answered, " My gracious lord, so that they be not the very ones, which they have condemned at Constance." Upon this, the Elector said : " Those, I fear me, are the very ones." " Those," replied Luther, " I cannot yield, happen to me what may."

At length, leave to depart from Worms, was granted

him, according to his desire. The electoral 'official' of Treves and the private secretary of the Emperor informed him, that since, in spite of so many exhortations, he would not yield to the authority of the Church, his imperial majesty must consider himself as the advocate of the Catholic faith, and consequently command him to return to his home, under free safeconduct, within twenty-one days, and not to excite the people, on the way, by preaching or writing. Luther answered, upon this, "As it has pleased the Lord, even so it has happened; blessed be the name of the Lord." He added, that, above all, he most devoutly and obediently thanked the emperor's majesty, the electors and estates of the empire, that they had heard him, so graciously, and that the promised safeconduct had been kept, and should still be kept, inviolate. For that he had desired, in all his doings, nothing but this, that a reformation, on the ground of Holy Writ, for which he had so earnestly petitioned, should be undertaken and executed. As for the rest, that he would cheerfully do and suffer every thing for the emperor's majesty, and the empire; would submit life or death, honor or shame, and keep nothing for himself, except the word of God, freely to profess and testify to the same. And, finally, that he would commend himself most devoutly to his imperial majesty, and the whole empire.

Thus Luther left Worms, on the twenty-sixth day of April; having first taken leave of all his friends. He arrived at Friedburg on the twenty-eighth. Being now in Hessian territory, he sent back the imperial herald, with two letters, one to the Emperor, the other to the estates of the empire. In these, after a relation of all the transactions at Worms, he complains, that his doctrine had not been inquired into, on the grounds of Scripture, and once more expresses his thanks, for the safeconduct. He concludes the letter to the Emperor, with these words: "Therefore, I most earnestly pray, not for myself, alone, for I am an unworthy and despised man, but for and in the name of all Christendom. This it is which has moved me, to send this epistle. For I wish-

ed, from all my heart, that your imperial majesty should be a blessing to the whole empire, and to the noble and most worthy German nation, and that all should be kept in God's grace, with all success and happiness. I have not, thus far, sought any thing else but the honor of God, and the general welfare and salvation of every man; and have not considered my own advantage; nor do I, now; whether God permit my adversaries to condemn me or not. If Christ, my Lord, prayed for his enemies on the cross, much more shall I be careful of, and pray and implore God for, your imperial majesty, the whole empire, and my beloved forefathers,* and the whole of Germany, my dear fatherland, for the which I hope every thing good, according to my cheerful and confident trust in Christ, my Lord."

At his departure from Worms, he had been prohibited, indeed, from all preaching; but he had no ways assented to this condition. On the contrary, he had made this reservation, "that God's word remains unfettered, and that he was at liberty freely to profess it." He preached, therefore, at Hirschfeld. At this place, the abbot, a Benedictine, who was one of the princes of the empire, received him with extraordinary honors, and invited him to preach, although Luther reminded him, that he might chance to lose his abbey for it. He likewise preached at Eisenach. While he was proceeding on his journey, having left the main road, to visit some friends near Salzungen, he was suddenly seized upon, not far from Altenstein and Waltershausen, by an arrangement of the Elector, in concert with John von Berlepsch, bailiff at Wartburg, and Burkhard Hund, lord of Altenstein, by some disguised horsemen, who, however, were soon recognised as kind friends. They lifted him out of the carriage, placed him on horseback, led him about in the forest for some hours. At length, at eleven o'clock at night, they brought him to the castle of Wartburg,

* To these "beloved forefathers" the previous "being careful of," it would seem has only reference, which, indeed, appears clearer from the original.

near Eisenach, the ancient residence of the landgraves of Thuringia.*

* Here Luther passed under the name of Knight George, (or, as we would express it in modern idiom, Chevalier George,) and here, in silvan solitude, in one of the finest spots of the Thuringian Forest, he translated the New Testament into German. In this retirement, where his prince kept him for his safety, he remained ten months, when, informed of the destruction of pictures, and other fanatical disturbances, excited by Carlstadt, he could remain no longer. Feeling called upon to hasten to the fanatics, in order to preach reason, peace, and order, in the name of sound religion, he left the castle, notwithstanding the new proclamation of outlawry, which the Emperor had just issued against him from Nuremberg. His letter to the Elector Frederic, upon this occasion, like his whole appearance at Worms, proves the heroic firmness of his soul.

THE SIEGE AND SURRENDER OF RHODES, IN THE YEAR 1522.

BY THE ABBE VERTOT.

The universal desire to visit those spots, which, for any reason, are endeared to us, or which have been hallowed by important or great actions,—a desire common to mankind, in all periods,—became gradually a distinctive feature of the middle ages, as shown in the pilgrimages which were made to all places considered peculiarly sacred, but especially to the country where the Saviour had lived, taught, and suffered. The religious fervor, and the romantic and venturous spirit, so universally blended and diffused in that age, naturally presented in the most attractive light, a perilous journey to the tomb of Christ and the city of Jerusalem. This was especially the case, when, likewise in the spirit of the times, such a pilgrimage came to be considered, and finally to be proclaimed, by the Church, as a good work, of itself, possessing, as such, some degree of merit in the eyes of the Deity, which might counterbalance previous failures and wrongs. Yet, the chief agent which impelled thousands and thousands to visit Jerusalem and Mount Sinai, we must seek in the devotional glow and religious fervor of the times, which had seized upon the otherwise universal desire of mankind, already mentioned, to visit hallowed spots. It is originally the same impulse, which makes the scholar desire to see Athens or Rome, and the citizen to walk over the battle field where his ancestors bled for the liberty which he enjoys. It is this, which gives to the little town of Palos a very different interest, in the eyes of every one who honors the heroic perseverance of Columbus, from that, with which he views other seaports infinitely more important, in the commerce of nations. For the pilgrimages to the Holy Land were performed by thousands, long ere the Church declared them to possess the effective agency of good works. The pilgrims, however, were exposed to many privations ; and, not unfrequently, to the serious wants and the numerous sufferings, brought on by diseases peculiar to the East, and to which

most of the pilgrims were especially exposed, destitute, as they were, of most of the necessaries and comforts which might have protected their health. Some pious men, therefore, resolved to dedicate their lives to the attendance upon, and relief of, the sick pilgrims at Jerusalem; and, at the beginning of the eleventh century, some merchants from Amalfi, in the kingdom of Naples, furnished the necessary means to establish a regular hospital for pious pilgrims, with a church, which was dedicated to St. John the Baptist. When, therefore, those voluntary ministers of the sick assumed some regular order among themselves, and especially, when they were recognised and sanctioned as a regular society, by the Church, they were called Brothers of St. John, or Hospitallers. The Crusades, those repeated attempts to wrest, from the possession of the Mohammedans, the countries hallowed, in the mind of every Christian, by the history of his religion, not unfrequently left unemployed, for a time, some of the Knights, who had proceeded to Palestine, to fight against the Saracens. Some of them, seeing how charitably the Hospitallers were employed, in furnishing relief to the suffering pilgrim, resolved to join them, in this work of charity, while their swords had a respite. Not long after, a Religious Order was organized, and sanctioned by the Pope, the chief part of the members of which were to be soldiers in arms against the Infidels, but uniting with their warlike character, at the same time, the character of members of a religious order, and that of nurses of the sick. They were to be Knights, and were obliged to prove their descent from noble families. Hence, they were called, Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem. The Pope was the supreme spiritual head of this, as of every other religious order. A Knight Hospitaller was required to take the three common monastic vows,—that of obedience to his superiors and the Church; of chastity, including that of celibacy; and of poverty, which was, however, in various modes dispensed with. In addition to these vows, he took those of unremitted hostility and war against the Infidels, and of devotedness to the sick. The Order had grown so decidedly out of the spirit of the times, and answered so directly the devotional and adventurous desire of action, in the middle ages; it united, in so remarkable a degree, religious fervor and chivalric spirit; the stern, world-renouncing vows of the monk with

the feudal notions of the importance of noble descent ; the humble and menial works of charity with the brilliant and heroic deeds of arms ;—that it rapidly increased, and acquired great property, in all the countries of Western Europe. In this respect, likewise, that the Order extended over many different countries, it truly represented the spirit of those times, in which the tribes belonging to one country had not yet consolidated into great nations, and when the Roman Catholic Church embraced nearly all the numerous dialects and tribes of the Christians of Western Europe. Knights of all nations belonged to this Order, which, for the better administration of its extensive possessions, and the organization of its members, was divided into Languages, of which, in the most flourishing times of the Order, there were eight ; namely, those of Provence, Auvergne, France, Italy, Aragon, Germany, Castile, and England. At the head of the Order was the Grand-master, an elective officer, deemed a sovereign prince in all secular matters. According to the later ceremonial of the Courts, he took precedence before the cardinals.

There were, besides the Knights Hospitallers, other members of the Order ; namely, chaplains, or priests, and servitors. For a long time, the Order maintained itself in Palestine, by union and great courage, against the Turks and Saracens ; but they were finally obliged, with all the other Christians of the West, to leave the Holy Land. After having established themselves, for some time, in the island of Cyprus, where the Order first acquired a naval character, they conquered the island of Rhodes, near the coast of Asia Minor. This, they greatly improved, both as a commercial place and as a military bulwark of Christendom, during the two centuries, through which these "noble and warlike monks, renowned by land and sea,"* kept possession of it, by means of their continued heroic exertion. They were now called Knights of Rhodes. Mohammed the Second, the conqueror of Constantinople, and of so many kingdoms and principalities, the dread of Christian Europe, the almost irresistible Captain, who had already taken Otranto, in Italy, and probably would have pursued his conquests in that country,—and who will venture to say, how far he might have pushed his fearful victories, but for his death !—that Sultan, who filled all Europe

* Gibbon.

with such an awe, that every church inserted a prayer against the Turks, in its litany, and celebrated joyful festivities, when the Christians had been able to make a stand against him, as if they had gained a victory ;—this mighty conqueror could not, with all his power, the universal dread he inspired, and all the treachery he could make use of, subdue the Knights of Rhodes. They repelled his attack, by a most gallant and persevering defence, under their Grand-master, Peter d'Aubusson ; and Mohammed is said to have given directions, that his tomb should be inscribed, not with an enumeration of his victories, but with these words :

"I MEANT TO CONQUER RHODES,
AND TO SUBDUE FAIR ITALY."

Ever since this repulse, the Turks considered it a point of honor to subdue that proud island, as they were likewise interested in its conquest, on account of the serious and continual injury which the Knights of Rhodes inflicted upon their maritime trade, by intercepting the rich convoys from Egypt to Constantinople, or to the western Mohammedan states in Africa. A great armament, therefore, was fitted out, under Soliman the Second, in the year 1522 ; and Rhodes, after a most protracted defence, equalled in fortitude and undaunted heroism by few other actions in history, and attracting, at the time, the universal admiration and sympathy of Europe, was at last compelled to surrender. Yet, so noble had been the defence, and so injurious to the overwhelming force of the Turks, that the most honorable conditions were granted to the handful of exhausted and crippled Knights, who had the misfortune, as they considered it, to survive their brethren and the fall of their island. From the conquest of Asia Minor and the Greek empire, by the Turks, to the famous naval battle at Lepanto, in 1571, where John of Austria, the son of Charles the Fifth, broke the Turkish maritime power, so that it never fully recovered, there existed the greatest danger, lest Western Europe, disunited as it was, should be forced from its onward course of civilization, by the Turkish arms.* The valiant and martyr-like defence of Rhodes,

* The Turks made several attempts against Austria, by land, at a much later period, and advanced even as far as Vienna,—the last time as late as 1683, when Sobiesky freed that city ; but the danger of their overwhelming Europe must be considered as past, after the bat tle at Lepanto.

although it ended in surrender, because Europe would not send any aid, must be considered as a very essential epoch in this long struggle between the Mohammedan East and the Christian West. The service which the Knights of Rhodes rendered to Christian civilization, by holding out, so long, and by making Rhodes to serve as a mole or breakwater against the power of the Turks, was eminent.

When the Knights of Rhodes had left that island, their head-quarters remained uncertain, for a long time, until Charles the Fifth gave them the island of Malta, on condition of perpetual war against the Infidels and the pirates. Henceforward, they were called the Knights of Malta. Upon this island, they sustained another violent attack of the Turks ; but, this time, the valor of the Knights, under the command of the Grand-master Lavalette, was crowned with final success, in maintaining the possession of the island, although at the sacrifice of many Knights, and only by performing deeds very similar to those which had distinguished their predecessors in Rhodes. The period of the French Revolution, in which the aspect of Europe was changed, in so many respects, witnessed, also, the termination of this Order, which had long changed its essential character.

Recently, papers have stated that the Order of the Knights of St. John has been revived, by the King of Naples ; for what purpose, we are not yet informed. Of course, it cannot be to wage perpetual war against the Infidels, because, since Turkey has entered into the regular diplomatic connexion with the other powers of Europe, and is considered as an integrant part of the political system of that part of the world, every attempt at fulfilling the ancient vow of the Knights, of perpetual war against the Turks, would be treated, by all the maritime powers, as piracy.

I have selected, from the whole history of that illustrious Order, replete with stirring events, the Siege and Surrender of Rhodes, in 1522, taken from Vertot's ' History of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem,' translated from the French, Edinburgh, 1770.

Rene Aubert de Vertot was born in 1655, in the country of Caux, in France. He entered the ecclesiastical state, not, as was so often the case in former times, by family arrangement, because he was the second son of a noble family, but from a sincere desire of his own. His

ardent piety induced him, to take the monastic vows of the Capuchins, without the knowledge of his family. His health, however, was so delicate, that the rigid rules of his order threw him into a serious sickness. Friends of the family, after many ineffectual attempts, at length prevailed upon the young monk, to allow them to obtain for him the dispensation of the Pope, to exchange his present order, for one of less austere rules. After various changes, he was made curate of a small place, an office he obtained at his own desire. In 1689, he published his 'History of the Conspiracy of Portugal,' and, seven years later, his 'History of the Revolutions of Sweden.' In 1701, when the French Academy was reorganized, Vertot was made an academician; and, not long after, went to reside at Paris, and began to occupy himself solely with his studies. The Memoirs of the Academy contain many contributions from his pen. He now wrote the History of the Revolutions of the Roman Republic; a work, which, though a favorite with its author, is without critical value, and stands far below the present standard of historical science; yet, when it appeared, in 1719, it was received with much applause.* Owing, probably, to the reputation obtained by this Work, which suited an age not very critical in its way of treating ancient history, and which became the more popular, perhaps, on account of a certain happy mediocrity and superficial ease, the Order of the Knights of Malta requested him to reduce to a complete history their glorious annals, and the chronicles they already possessed. Vertot agreed, and the Work, whose title I have mentioned, became the production of his advanced age. This Work is no more a critical history than his other writings, and cannot, in this respect, be compared to the History of the Templars, by Wilcke, Leipzig, 1827; but we must not forget that a whole century elapsed between the two authors. The history of the Hospitallers goes only down to the end of the sixteenth century. Vertot wrote his history in the style of his time. Scrupulous detail, or attention to the internal connexion of parts, and to the manner in which one is necessarily produced by another, had less importance, in his eyes, than the dramatic effect of prominent actions. Still,

* It was to Vertot, that Lord Stanhope, one of the ministers of George the First, applied for information, respecting the formation of the Roman senate, the election of the members, &c. The answer of Vertot was unsatisfactory.

it is the only history of that great society which we possess, the chronicles of the Order being inaccessible to most persons. Vertot died, at the advanced age of nearly eighty years, in 1735.

The Grand-master of the Order, at the time of the second Siege of Rhodes, was Brother Philip de Villiers de l'Isle Adam, a native of France. His unsuccessful competitor had been Andrew d'Amaral, a high officer in the Order, and a Portuguese by birth. Amaral had conceived a dislike toward l'Isle Adam, before the election, which grew into a deadly hatred, when he found that his brother Knights preferred his rival to himself. It is necessary to remember this fact, as the cause of d'Amaral's treachery, during the siege,—the only crime of this kind recorded in the history of the Order. It is even reported, that d'Amaral sent a Turkish slave of his to Constantinople, to invite the Sultan to besiege and destroy Rhodes and the whole Order, sending him, at the same time, a detailed description of the island, with its fortifications.

The Grand-master prepared for the siege, with all the courage and precaution of an old captain, who had passed his whole life in war.

To deprive the Turks of forage, they, by his orders, cut down the corn, though it was not yet ripe. Some country-houses, as well as churches, situated without the town, were demolished, and the materials carried into the town, for fear the enemy should make use of their ruins, to raise platforms, and plant their artillery on them. As another precaution, and in order to be well supplied with pioneers, they obliged all the peasants of the country to retire into the town, and recalled, at the same time, all the adventurers and privateers, that were cruising against the Infidels, under the banner of the Order, whose protection they had, as well as free admittance and full security, upon occasion, in the port of Rhodes.

But it was necessary to provide for the subsistence of these people, as well as for that of the Knights, the citizens, and the garrison. This was the first care of the Grand-master. He appointed three commissioners, for that purpose; and, to give them the greater credit, in the execution of their office, he chose them out of the

Grand Crosses.* The first was Gabriel de Pommerols, Great Commander and lieutenant-general to the Grand-master; John Buck, Turcopolier,† of the Language of England, was the second; and Chancellor d' Amaral was named for the third. These three noblemen visited all the magazines, carefully; and, though they found most of them full, yet the Grand-master, from an opinion that what, on such occasions, is called sufficient, does not always prove so, proposed, in the council, to send immediately to Naples, Sicily, and Candia, for a greater quantity of wheat, wine, powder, and arms; and to endeavor, likewise, to get five hundred archers and bowmen, from Candia,—the Candiotes, in all ages, excelling even the most warlike nations, in the managing of those instruments. The Chancellor, who, as they pretend, had sold his religion to the Infidels, in order to prevent the effects of the Grand-master's precautions, represented, that, by news just arrived from the Christian isles of the Archipelago, they were informed, that the Turkish armament was not so much designed against the isles of the Order, as against that of Cyprus, and perhaps Italy itself; that, for nearly forty years, in which he had been in the Order, he had frequently observed, that the Turks had occasioned it more expense by the jealousy that their armaments gave them, than if they had actually attacked Rhodes; that, indeed, the care and precautions that the Grand-master took could never be sufficiently applauded; but they might defer the execution of them for some time longer, for fear of draining the treasury of the Order, in making preparations to guard against a storm, that would probably fall on some other place.

* A class of high officers among the Knights.

† The Turcopoles, whence the name of Turcopolier is derived, were anciently, as William of Tyre relates, a company of light-horse. The original of the term came from the Turcomans, who gave the name of Turcopoles, in general, to such children as were born of a Greek mother and a Turcoman father, and were designed for the war service. It was afterwards a title of military dignity, in the kingdom of Cyprus, whence it was adopted into the Order of St. John. But the Hospitallers used it, only to signify the colonel-general of the infantry.—*Vertot.*

The Grand-master, who was ignorant of the motives of this perfidious advice, imputed it only to an injudicious spirit of parsimony ; but he declared, that he had letters from a faithful spy, whom he kept at Constantinople, and on whom he could depend, who assured him, that the Grand Signior's armament was designed only for the siege of Rhodes ; that he had given orders to let no ship go out of his ports, that was bound towards Rhodes ; that they were laboring hard, in preparing a train of large artillery, which is never used but in sieges ; that the Sultan had caused a great quantity of tools to be made, proper for pioneering; and that most of the troops were filing towards Lycia, where they were to embark, in order to be transported into the isle of Rhodes.

The Grand-master's advice prevailed. They obtained wheat, from Naples and Sicily, so that there was no want of any thing, during the whole course of the siege, but powder, which happened through the treachery of the Chancellor, who made a false report of the quantity in the magazines. They had also like to have wanted wine, through the same perfidiousness ; the Chancellor having, under a pretence of thriftiness, rejected the proposals of three merchants of Rhodes, who offered to supply the city with it, at a reasonable price. But the Grand-master, whose views extended on all sides, sent into Candia,* a serving brother, Anthony Bosio by name, uncle to the author of the Annals of the Order, with orders to provide great store of wine, and to procure leave, also, from the Governor of the island, to levy five hundred foot. Bosio, arriving in Candia, had no difficulty in getting the wine, which he shipped off, in fifteen brigantines ; he was even cunning enough to engage a young Venetian gentleman, whose name was Bonaldi, and who had, at that time, in the port of Candia, a ship freighted with wine, and bound for Constantinople, to alter his course, and carry it to Rhodes.

But the serving brother did not find it so easy a matter to levy soldiers. The Governor not only denied him

* *Candia* belonged, at that time, to the Republic of Venice.

leave, but, as if he dreaded Soliman's resentment, forbade, by sound of trumpet, all persons, whatsoever, under pain of corporal punishment, to list themselves with the Grand-master's agent, or quit the island. Notwithstanding which, the dexterous Rhodian made a shift to get his recruit, and above five hundred men, disguised like merchants and seamen, on board the brigantines, either unknown to the Governor, or without his being willing to take notice of it. This cunning negotiator did another piece of service to the Order, before he set sail. There was, at that time, in the isle of Candia, an excellent engineer, Gabriel Martinengo, by name, a gentleman of Brescia, a subject of the republic,* and of an ancient and illustrious family. The senate had given him a pension of twelve hundred crowns, to superintend all the fortifications of that island. Bosio, who foresaw how useful a man of his abilities would be, in a place that was besieged, proposed to him to go to Rhodes, and to share with the Knights in the glory which they hoped to acquire, in the defence of it. Martinengo, a man of true valor, and who was both a brave soldier and a great engineer, offered cheerfully to accept his invitation, provided he could procure a discharge from the Governor.

Bosio departed for Rhodes, with his soldiers and provisions of wine. The Grand-master sent him immediately back to Candia, with a letter to the Governor, wherein he entreated him, in the most pressing terms, to give that officer leave to come and defend a place, which served for a bulwark to the very islands of the republic. But the Governor flatly refused to grant this request, and went so far as to send for Martinengo, and give him express orders, not to stir out of the island. But that officer, not troubling himself about the consequences, put on a disguise, and, in concert with Bosio, came to the seaside, and got on board a felucca, that waited for him in a by-creek of the isle.

The Governor, having notice that the engineer had disappeared, caused a strict search to be made after him,

* Of Venice.

in the principal houses. He sent to his own, where he confiscated all his effects ; and, not questioning but he had embarked in some passage-ship, he sent two galleys to pursue him, with orders to bring him back, dead or alive. Martinengo and Bosio, seeing themselves pursued, took down the mast of the felucca, drew their oars into their vessel, and brought it close under a rock of the island, covering it with sails, made of whitish linen, almost of the same color as the rock that the felucca lay under. By this artifice, and perhaps by the secret connivance of the Governor, they escaped the galleys, which returning back into the port, they set sail, passed, in the night time, through some Turkish vessels, which, by means of Bosio's speaking the Greek language, took the brigantine to belong to their own squadron, and arrived safe at Rhodes. Martinengo was mighty well received by the Grand-master, who knew his birth and his talents. The principal commanders, following his example, showed him the utmost respect. Every body was striving to show him how sensible they were of his merit. Martinengo, also, was delighted to see himself esteemed by that noble body of Knights, the best judges of valor, and which was composed of the most illustrious persons, in all the states of Christendom. From these sentiments, that savored perhaps too much of human nature, he passed to those of a particular veneration, when he saw these Knights and warriors preparing themselves, like Christians and true religious, for the defence of religion. Under a soldier's habit, and with a military equipage, he admired their contempt of the world, their lively faith, and sincere disengagement from the things of this life : he was particularly edified, to see most of them preparing themselves for a bloody siege, by a frequent receiving of the sacraments.

These reflections gave rise to his vocation. He saw himself exposed to the same dangers, without the same holy preparation. God touched his heart ; he ran to the Grand-master's palace, threw himself at his feet, and, inflamed with zeal to sacrifice his life for the defence of the faith, entreated that prince to honor him with his

cross. The Grand-master took him up, and embraced him tenderly, assuring him, that he would immediately propose his request to the council, and acquaint them with his pious dispositions. The votes were unanimous in his favor; the whole Order was delighted to associate so excellent a man in it. The Grand-master gave him the habit, and administered the vows to him, in a full assembly; and, to acknowledge the generosity wherewith he had abandoned his patrimony, and the great pensions he had from the republic of Venice, the Order assigned him a pension of twelve hundred crowns, till such time as he might have some commandry or priory,* of the like value given him. As a further favor to the new Knight, the Grand-master made him, the next day, a grand cross, and gave him, at the same time, the general inspection over all the fortifications; and the Grand-marshal, who is standing General of all the troops of the Order, divided, as it were, his authority with him. He admitted him, out of the high regard he had to his great capacity, into the command and authority which his post gave him over all the forces in the island.

It was by the advice and directions of Martinengo, that they repaired the walls and towers. He caused them to raise the ramparts higher; they built ravelins before the gates of the city; made casemates in the flanks of the bastions, and in the counterscarp of the ditch mines, filled with powder, to which they might set fire by the help of a train laid under ground. Within the place, he caused them to build new forts, cuts, ditches, intrenchments, barricades, and all kinds of necessary defences, that a person of his capacity, who foresaw every thing that might happen, could oppose against the attacks of the besiegers.

Whilst the Order was receiving such advantages from his skill and his great talents, particularly at a time when they were going to be besieged, there happened a kind of desertion among the Knights of the Language of Italy.

* *Commandry or priory* was the command over and enjoyment of revenues of a certain amount of land, &c., belonging to the Order.

The Principal of that nation complained to the Grand-master and the council, that Pope Adrian the Sixth, who had just succeeded Leo the Tenth, disposed, in an absolute manner, and contrary to their rights, of all the commandries of Italy, and thereupon asked leave to go to Rome, to complain of it. The Grand-master did not think fit, in the present juncture, to grant them the leave they desired. His refusal exasperated them; and d'Amaral, who lost no opportunity of weakening the Order, insinuated to them, that they themselves ought to take a permission which he denied them; that l'Isle Adam, who was a Frenchman by birth, did not love the Language of Italy; that, in order to keep them low, he was not perhaps concerned at the Pope's taking from them the commandries annexed to their Language; that the Grand-master spread and encouraged the reports of an approaching siege, with the view only of having a pretence to dispose the more freely of the funds that were in the treasury of the Order; and that, after all, it would be a dishonor to them, if, after shedding their blood, so often, in the defence of the Order, they should, by an odious distinction, be the only persons deprived of the recompense so justly due to their services.

The Italian Knights, seduced by this perfidious advice, left Rhodes, without leave, and retired into the isle of Candia. The Grand-master, justly provoked at so scandalous a disobedience, ordered them to be prosecuted, as rebels and deserters; and the council deprived them of the habit, by an express sentence to this purpose. However just this sentence might be, the Order nevertheless lost in them, a considerable number of valiant Knights. Some of their friends, better affected than the Chancellor, went over to Candia, with the Grand-master's private consent; and, after having dexterously entered into their complaints and resentments, represented to them, that there was no longer any doubt to be made of the siege of Rhodes; that they would see the island immediately covered over with the Turks; and that, though the motive of their journey to Rome was never so just, they yet could not prevent their enemies

spreading a report, that they had made it, at such a juncture, with a view only of getting out of the way of those dangers to which their brethren were going to be exposed.

The certainty of the siege of Rhodes, and the fear they were under of being suspected to have withdrawn themselves, from so cowardly a motive, prevailed over their resentment. They returned to Rhodes, to throw themselves at the Grand-master's feet; and, that they might obtain pardon for their fault, they protested, that they would wash it out with their blood, and with that of the Infidels. The Grand-master received them like a tender father; and, after having given them a wise reproof, for their disobedience, the generous old man embraced them, with great tenderness, gave them the habit, again, and promised them, that, as soon as they should be free from the war, with which they were threatened, the whole Order should interest itself in their affair; that he would make it his own; and that, as their complaints were just and reasonable, he was in hopes, that the several princes of Christendom would not refuse him their good offices with the Pope.

This storm being happily calmed, the Grand-master immediately despatched Knights to all the courts of Europe, who were to solicit the Pope and the other princes of Christendom to send him speedy succors. But the event showed, that the Order could depend on nothing but its own strength. Most of the princes, engaged in war with one another, and minding only their private interests, neglected those of religion; and the Pope himself, though a virtuous pontiff, yet, as he owed his dignity to the credit and recommendation of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, whose preceptor he had been, he durst not dispose of the troops and money of the Holy See, without his privity and consent.

The Grand-master, being in no certainty of these remote succors, placed all his confidence in the protection of Heaven, and in the valor of his Knights. Like a thorough soldier, he neglected no precaution necessary to prevent being surprised by the Infidels. One of the first

of his many cares, so worthy of his zeal and courage, was a general review of all the Knights and regular troops; which amounted, in all, to about six hundred Knights, and four thousand five hundred soldiers; and, with this handful of men, he undertook to defend the place against the inundations of those formidable armies, that Soliman brought into the field, in all his enterprises. The townsmen, indeed, of Rhodes, took up arms, and some companies were formed out of them. They also recalled the Rhodian privateers, that were out at sea; these were posted in the town, and were charged with the defence of the port. The country peasants were designed to serve as pioneers; but they could not afterwards make any use, at all, of the common people of the town, who were insensible to any passion, but that of fear, and could never be brought to look danger in the face. The Grand-master gave brother Didier Tholon of St. Jaille, bailiff of Manosque, the direction of the artillery, and the Chevaliers de Nueres and Britto were intrusted with the carrying on of the works, under the orders of the Bailiff de Martinengo. The slaves of Rhodes, and such as belonged to the private persons, were employed in hollowing the ditches, and in the fortifications which they added to the bastion of Auvergne. They repaired the mills; they built new ovens; the port was shut up with a double chain, one, before its mouth, the other, within it, from the tower of St. Nicholas to the tower of the mills; and, to prevent the Infidels from seizing on the mole, as they had attempted, in the former siege, and advancing, by means of that bank, as far as the gate of St. Catharine, they sunk, at the entrance of the bay, where the Tunny fishery was, several ships, laden with stones. The walls were, at the same time, lined with artillery. They carried arms, grenadoes, fire-pots, and large stones, upon the ramparts and bastions. There never had been seen a greater diligence, or a more complete order.

The Knights and the Greek gentlemen, the townsmen as well as officers, the soldier and mariner, the very priests and monks, each of these employed himself, readily and without confusion, upon whatever was prescribed

him. The Grand-master was present, in all places. He, alone, inspected the carrying on of these several works; his presence and capacity advanced them still more than the many hands employed about them; and few princes and governors ever gave such manifest proofs, in a besieged place, of so perfect an understanding of the art of war, joined to a calm valor, incapable of being discomposed, either by the greatness or the variety of the dangers with which he was afterwards surrounded.

The city of Rhodes, as we have already observed, is situated by the seaside, on a hill, which terminates, with a gentle descent, into a plain, thereby making the circumvallation of it easy. It is divided into the high and low town. The Grand-master's palace was in the high town, and served as a castle and a citadel to it, at the same time. All the Knights were lodged near the Grand-master's palace, in the same quarter; and all the secular and married persons, as well townsmen as artificers, dwelt in the lower town. The place, on the side towards the country, seems to be of a round figure; but, when seen from the sea, represents a perfect crescent. There are two ports belonging to it; the larger is square and spacious, but not very safe when certain winds blow. At the entrance of this port, on the right, stands the tower of St. Nicholas, a monument of the liberality of Philip, the good Duke of Burgundy. This tower, well provided with artillery, was joined to a bastion, that lay behind it, and had a curtain, which ran up to the walls of the town, and made one of the sides of the port. On the other side, over against this tower, stood an old castle, to which the Knights gave the name of the castle of St. Angelo. This castle, and the tower, which were somewhat more than a hundred yards distant from one another, were built upon the two rocks, upon which it is pretended that the feet of the great brazen Colossus stood, in former times, and which was of so prodigious a bulk, that the greatest vessels, as we are told, might pass, with all their sails spread, between its legs. The bastion, adjoining to the tower of St. Nicholas, was, by the seaside, provided with nine great pieces of cannon, which commanded the

entry of the port, so entirely, that no ship could enter in, on any side. The little port, or port of the galleys, was covered, towards the sea, with a narrow neck of rock, that ran out from the firm land, and had a castle upon it, called, by the Knights, the castle of St. Elme, or St. Erme. This port is more secure than large, and may hold several galleys; but the mouth of it is so narrow, that there cannot above one enter, at a time. They shut it up, every evening, with a chain, that was fastened to a little tower, at the further end of a mole which runs about twenty-five or thirty paces out into the sea; the other end of the chain was fastened to a piece of rock, that jutted out from the land, seven or eight paces from the castle. Near the port of the galleys stood the arsenal, where they used to be built; and over against the bastion, which is between the two ports, there is a large tower, with a ditch, and three great pieces of cannon, which defended the entrance of this last port. Above the prince's palace and the inns of the Languages, were a great number of churches, among which, that of St. John, the patron of the Order, was remarkable for the greatness of the edifice, and the height and fine workmanship of its steeple. All these noble buildings, together with the fortifications, both ancient and modern, made Rhodes one of the finest cities of the East. It was surrounded by a double (others say with a triple) enclosure of walls, fortified with thirteen large towers, built after the antique fashion, five of which lay within a sort of ravelin and bastion, which the historians of the time call bulwarks; and these bulwarks were covered by barbicans, or faussebrayes,* and other advanced works. The ditch was large and deep; the counterscarp well faced and palisadoed. All that lay open, in the parts adjacent to the place, was exposed to an infinite number of batteries, composed of cannon of different bores, according to the nearness or distance of the places in view. Rhodes seemed to defy an attack, on all sides; and from the glacis to the body of the place, there was nothing but for-

* Small mounds of earth, about twenty-four feet wide, erected on level ground at the foot of a rampart.

tifications, heaped one upon another, and batteries, that suffered no approaches to be made, without danger and loss of men.

We have said, upon the credit of the historians of that age, that there were five bulwarks, or bastions. The Grand-master committed the defence of them to five old Knights, who had given signal proofs of their capacity and courage, on many occasions. The Chevalier de Mesnil had the care of defending the bastion of Auvergne; Brother Francis de Carrieres was posted in that of Spain; Nicholas Hussey was to command in that of England; Berenger de Lioncel in that of Provence; and Andelot Gentili undertook to defend the bastion of Italy. The Grand-master distributed, at the same time, the best part of his troops upon the ramparts, and divided them, according to their quarters. Brother Raimond de Ricard, the oldest Commander of the Language of Provence, was at the head of a brigade, to take care of a post that bore the same name. Raimond Roger, of the Language of Auvergne, was pitched upon for the quarter of his Language; Joachim de St. Aubin, with the French Knights, was to defend the wall, from the Franque tower as far as the gate of St. Ambrose, and from that gate as far as that of St. George. The Germans were posted under the conduct of the Commander Valdners; William Ouazon commanded in the quarter of the English; George Emar in that of Italy; John de Barbarar and Ernard Sollier were to defend the posts of Castile and Aragon, where the ditches were neither broad nor deep enough. The quarter called St. Marie de la Victoire,* was still weaker; the Grand-master undertook the defence of it himself, quitted his palace, and lodged at the foot of the wall, with some Knights that he had reserved to fight under his own command, and near his person.

Besides this distribution, the Grand-master chose, likewise, four lords, all of them grand-crosses, to whom they gave the title of adjutant captains, or generals, who, with the companies under their command, were a sort of *corps*

* St. Mary of the Victory.—I.

de reserve, and were to march to such places as were most pressed. The first of these captains was d'Amaral, whose fidelity they did not, as yet, suspect. His business was, to sustain those that defended the posts of Auvergne and Germany; Brother John Buck, Turcopolier* of the Order, and a Knight of the Language of England, was appointed for the quarter of Spain and England; Brother Peter de Cluys, Grand Prior of France, was to sustain those of his own nation, and the posts of Castile and Portugal; and Brother Gregory de Morgut, Grand Prior of Navarre, was assigned to march to the succor of the posts of Provence and Italy. The Grand-master added to these four lords, Brother Gabriel de Pommerols, his lieutenant-general, who, without having any settled post and quarter, was to go to all places where there should be need; and the Grand-master, at the head of his guards, commanded by the Chevalier de Bonneval, of the Language of Auvergne, reserved the same function to himself.

We have already observed,† that, before the first siege, they carried into the city a statue of the Holy Virgin, which was revered in a church dedicated to her, and built upon Mount Philerme. They took the same precaution, before this second siege, and all the clergy and people went in procession to the church, to take it, and brought it into the city, (whereof she was considered as the protectress,) and deposited it in the church of St. Mark.

The tower of St. Nicholas being looked upon as the most important post, and as the key of Rhodes, the Grand-master intrusted the defence of it to Brother Guyot de Castelane, of the Language of Provence, an old Knight, who had distinguished himself by a great number of brave actions. Twenty Knights and three hundred foot entered into the fortress, under his command; they gave six hundred men to the Knights, Claude de St. Prix and John Boniface, both Frenchmen, and to

* See note on p. 165.

† In a part of Vertot's Work previous to that from which this account is extracted.—I.

Lopez d'Aiala and Hugh Capon, Spaniards, to patrol round the city, night and day, in their turn, and to maintain good order in it, with power to judge and condemn malefactors to death, reserving, however, a liberty of appealing to the Grand-master. This prince, fearing that the four grand-crosses, whom he had chosen for adjutant-captains, would not, during the course of the siege, be sufficient to carry relief to all places that should be attacked, added four others to them; namely, Anastasius de Sainte Camelle, Guyot Dazas, French Knights, and Marin Furfan and Raimond Marquet, Spaniards, and gave each of them a company of one hundred and fifty men. The Grand Marshal, according to the rights of his office, gave the great standard of the Order to Anthony de Grolee, of the province of Dauphine, a Knight of distinguished valor, and well worthy of so honorable a trust. The Chevalier de Tinteville, a relation of the Grand-master's, was appointed to carry the standard of the holy crucifix, and the Chevalier Henri de Mauselle, one of the officers of the Grand-master's household, carried his particular standard.

Whilst the Grand-master was employed in assigning the Knights their several employments, and the quarters which they were to defend, they saw that the Turks were, in the night, making signals of fire, upon that part of the coast of Lycia that lies opposite to the isle of Rhodes.

The Grand-master, that he might not neglect any thing, ordered a French Knight,* whose name was Mennetou, to take his pink,† and go with a Rhodian, named Jaxi, who spoke the Turkish language, to find out the meaning of those fires. The French Knight, pursuant to his orders, put to sea, and, coming pretty near the coast, perceived several Turkish soldiers, disguised like merchants, standing by the side of a fountain. Jaxi asked them the reason of their signals, and inquired, at the same time, for a Turkish merchant of his acquaintance, who had formerly traded at Rhodes. They answered him,

* Relation du commandeur de Bourbon, p. 13.

† A small sailing ship.

that that merchant was not far off; that he was coming thither; and that he might see him, if he would come ashore. The Rhodian excused himself, unless they would send a hostage to his commander. The Turks agreed to this, and the exchange was made; but, as soon as Jaxi was ashore, these perfidious wretches, contrary to the law of nations, bound him, hurried him away, in all haste, to Constantinople, and delivered him to Pyrrhus Basha, the author and director of this piece of treachery. Mennetou thought to take his revenge on the Turkish hostage; but, when he came back to Rhodes, they found that he was only a sorry peasant, whom they had dressed in a silk vest, and from whom the Grand-master and council could get no manner of information.

In the mean time, Pyrrhus, having the Rhodian in his power, endeavored to get an account, from him, of the state of the city of Rhodes; and, not being able to gain upon him, by civilities and hopes of great reward, he put him to such violent torture, for several days together, that the Greek, no longer able to bear it, answered the interrogatories that were put to him, and died, soon after. Pyrrhus acquainted the Grand Signior with the Rhodian's deposition, and assured his master, that there were not above five or six thousand men, in arms, at Rhodes. Soliman resolved immediately to begin the siege; but, as it was a rule with him never to begin any war, without a previous declaration of it, he sent one by an express, who went into Lycia, and, according to custom, made the usual signals with fires.

The Grand-master sent a Knight, with a galley, on board of which the Turks threw a packet of letters tied to a stone. He carried the packet to the Grand-master, and it was opened in full council: they found in it, a letter of Soliman, in the form of a declaration of war, directed to the Grand-master, to the Knights in general, and to the citizens and inhabitants of Rhodes. This letter of defiance was drawn up pretty nearly in these terms:

"The continual robberies with which you infest our faithful subjects, and the insult you offer to our Imperial

majesty, oblige us to require you to deliver up to us, immediately, the island and fortress of Rhodes. If you do it readily, we swear, by the God who made heaven and earth, by the six-and-twenty thousand prophets, and the four musaphi that fell from heaven, and by our great prophet, Mohammed, that you shall have free liberty to go out of the island, and the inhabitants to stay there, without the least injury being done to you: but, if you do not submit, immediately, to our orders, you shall all be cut to pieces, with our terrible sword, and the towers, bastions, and walls, of Rhodes shall be laid level with the grass that grows at the foot of all those fortifications."

This letter was no great surprise to the council; and they resolved, if the Grand Signior should attack the island, to answer him only with their cannon. But, before the enemy appeared, and they were obliged to enter upon action, the Grand-master ordered them to prepare themselves for it, by fasting and prayer. He himself first set them the example, and the moments which he could spare from the toils of government, he spent in devotion before the altar. Fontanus, a contemporary historian, and eyewitness of what passed at the siege, in the relation of it, which he has left us, observes, that the Knights and citizens of Rhodes had as much confidence in his prayers as in his valor; and it was a common saying, among them, that, under so pious a prince, Heaven would interpose, for the preservation of his dominions.

As the isle of Rhodes was inhabited by two different nations, each of them had their own Metropolitan, both in the nomination of the Grand-master. Leonard Balestein then enjoyed that dignity, with regard to the Latins, and a caloyer or monk of St. Basil, called Clement, was Archbishop of the Greeks. These two prelates lived in a perfect harmony, and made it their whole business to maintain peace between the people of their dioceses. The Latin Archbishop was a very fine speaker: he was one of the most eloquent preachers of his age. However, as the Turks always treated their Greek subjects more favorably than the Latins, the Grand-master was

not without apprehensions, that the Greek inhabitants of the isles of the Order might possibly be seduced, by this distinction in their favor ; and therefore engaged the two Metropolitans, in their sermons, to exhort their flocks to fight courageously against the enemies of the faith.

Both the prelates acquitted themselves, in this point, with zeal, and succeeded in it, without difficulty. The fidelity of the Rhodians, to the Order, was not to be shaken : not only from the inviolable attachment which they discovered for the true religion, but, likewise, because the Knights had always governed with great justice and moderation ; the surest bond in Nature, between a sovereign and his subjects.

In the mean time, the Turkish fleet set sail ; thirty galleys advanced before it. The commander, as he passed along the coasts of the isle of Lango, or Coos, landed some troops, to ravage it : but these plunderers were so vigorously charged, upon their landing, by Prejan de Bidoux, Great Prior of St. Giles, Governor of the island, that they were forced to reembark, with some loss. This commander being informed, by the prisoners which he took, that those galleys, and the main body of the fleet which followed them, were steering directly for Rhodes, sent, after they were gone by, to ask the Grand-master's leave, to come to him, and serve the Order, in the siege. The Grand-master, who knew his capacity and long experience in war, was equally affected with his zeal and courage. He readily sent him the orders that he asked ; and the brave Knight, upon the receipt of them, went on board a brigantine, and in the night time got into the port of Rhodes, without being discovered by the Turks that lay off it, at sea. The Grand-master embraced him tenderly, commended him highly, and, not to leave his talents, and particularly his vigilance, unemployed, gave him the commission of visiting the several posts of the place, and of commanding at all the batteries, jointly with the Bailiff of Manosque.

They likewise brought over, at the same time, from the other isles of the Order, and particularly from Nizzaro, the greatest part of the inhabitants, a brave set of

men, used to cruise at sea, and combat against the Infidels. The Grand-master took this resolution, because the only thing they had to do, in this war, was, to save the capital; and, if the Order could but maintain its ground, there, the other islands would be either preserved, or at least more easily recovered.

When these inhabitants were landed, they put them, with provisions, into the castles of Lindo, Feracle, and the other fortresses of the island. Some gallant Knights were likewise put into those places, to command them. Their orders were, if they should be besieged, to hold out, as long as possible, to gain time, and put off the siege of the capital; and, if the Infidels did not attack them, to go often out on parties, and try to surprise the stragglers from the main army.

The Turkish fleet, after making the coast of Lycia, appeared, at last, within sight of Rhodes, and stopped in a shallow water, about eight miles or three leagues from the city; but, not finding a good bottom, and the place being, likewise, at that season, exposed to the westerly winds, Curtogli weighed anchor, set sail, and went to land on the other side, on a lee-shore, where there was a good anchoring place, called Parambolin, six miles from the city. There afterwards came thither, from the ports of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, a great number of vessels and galleys, laden with troops and ammunition; so that, when the Turks had all their forces together, they computed no less than four hundred sail, in their fleet; and the land army consisted of a hundred and forty thousand men, without reckoning sixty thousand pioneers, which Soliman had drawn out of the frontiers of Hungary, and the mountains of Servia, Bosnia, and Walachia, where most of them had been bred to digging under ground and working in mines.

The Grand-master, upon the enemies' approach, quitted his palace, and posted himself near the church of St. Marie de la Victoire, to be the more within reach of succoring the posts that should be attacked. During the first thirteen days, the Infidels made no motion, at all; only their galleys, flat-bottomed vessels, and barks, were con-

tinually transporting their troops from the ports of Fischo and Macry into the isle of Rhodes, and they worked, at the same time, in landing the heavy artillery, provisions, and ammunition. When all was landed, they held a council of war, about the different operations of the army. Some officers were of opinion, that they should begin with attacking the castle of Lindo, and the other fortresses of the island, which the Knights had built to hinder the making of descents ; and they represented, that the troops which were in those places might surprise and interrupt their convoys, and cut those troopers to pieces, that might straggle abroad for forage ; but Peri, or Pyrrhus, Basha, the son of a renegado Epirot, was against this sentiment, and represented, that they should lose time, which was too precious to be thrown away, in reducing these little places ; that they ought to advance directly to the capital, the taking of which would make all those castles fall, of course ; and, with regard to the parties which might disturb their convoys and foragers, they might easily secure themselves from any apprehensions of that nature, by sending such strong escorts, that the Christians durst not attack them.

The General declared himself for this latter opinion, and Rhodes was invested. They began to open the trenches, out of the reach of cannon shot ; and, when they were nearer the town, the Infidels raised a battery, which was immediately dismounted by the artillery of the place. Nothing could appear in the plain, but it was immediately battered, and felt the fury of the cannon ; and the Knights, making frequent sallies, killed a great number of the Turks, cleared the trenches, and filled up their first works. The Turks began them, again, and raised new batteries ; but, notwithstanding their being covered with sheds, gabions, and shoulder works, nevertheless, the Knights, with their continual fire, ruined all their works, and destroyed such as managed the artillery of the Infidels. The sword made a great havoc of what the cannon had spared. There was, every day, some skirmish or other, and no sallies were made, but all the Turks in the trenches were cut to pieces.

The Turkish soldiers, who were used to make prognostics from the first skirmishes, presaged no good to themselves, with regard to the success of the siege. The Janizaries, and even their very officers, found the valor of the Knights so much superior to the great character that had been given them of it, that they complained of being led to the slaughter. Besides, through the Grand-master's wise precaution, the island was a kind of desert; no inhabitants, no provisions, nor forage; neither could the soldiers straggle abroad, in quest of any, but they were presently snapped up, by parties that sallied out of the castles of the island; and these parties, that were always lying in one ambuscade or other, killed all that fell into their hands, without giving quarter. A war so toilsome and bloody; the extraordinary fortifications of Rhodes; the continual fire of the artillery; the frequent sallies; the scarcity of provisions, (of which they were forced to be very careful, because they could get none but from beyond sea;) the little, or rather no hopes of booty, and yet less, of recompense; in the absence of their Sovereign, their small confidence in a young general, who had been brought up in the pleasures of the seraglio;—all this contributed to the distaste, and even the murmurings, of the officer as well as the soldier. A spirit of mutiny, under a general that had not credit enough with them, soon succeeded to these murmurs; and, if an attack was to be made, or a sally to be repulsed, the troops could not be brought to advance, but with reluctance, and like men who did not believe they could vanquish or help being vanquished. In fine, the fear of danger made obedience languish, and all respect for command was lost.

Peri Basha, to whom Soliman had given particular orders, to send him an exact account of every thing that passed at the siege, thought himself obliged to let him know the discouragement and despondency of his army: and he observed, in his letter, that nothing but his presence could root out the seeds of rebellion, and reanimate the courage of his soldiers. The bashas that were left about the Sultan, and composed his council, were against his committing himself to the hazards of the sea; but the

Prince, jealous of his glory, and having the example of his father, Selim, and the sultans, his ancestors, before his eyes; and being likewise persuaded, that the mere presence of a sovereign surmounts the greatest difficulties, resolved to put himself at the head of his army, and accordingly set out for Lycia, with a body of fifteen thousand men.

Whilst this Prince was on his march, a Turkish woman, who was slave to a townsman of Rhodes, either from a zeal for her false religion, or in hopes of recovering her liberty, formed an enterprise that a hundred thousand Turks could not bring about. As the Knights and the Infidels were fighting together, every day, she, in order to make a diversion that might facilitate the attacks of the Turks, resolved to set fire to the principal places of the city; but, as it was impossible for her to execute this project, alone, she communicated it to some other slaves of her own country and religion. These slaves, influenced by the same motives, and by her persuasion, entered into the plot. The woman found a way to give the Turkish generals notice of her design; and, in concert with them, she, with the conspirators, fixed a day for this conflagration, and the quarter wherein they were to light it. These measures were so well taken, that Rhodes must have fallen, by the enterprise of this woman, had not one of the slaves providentially dropped a word, that discovered the secret of the conspiracy. They were immediately seized, and all of them, when put to the rack, owned their plot. The woman was the only person that did not submit to the force of pain, but endured the most violent tortures, without making the least confession. But her accomplices being confronted with her, and maintaining that she was the only person that engaged them in this conspiracy, the judges ordered her to be hanged. They quartered all the other conspirators, and their limbs were fixed up in several places of the city, in order to intimidate the rest of the slaves, and all that might afterwards be tempted to form a like enterprise.

The Sultan, in the mean time, passing through Caria

and Lycia, arrived at Portofischo. His vessels came thither, to take him on board, with the troops that served for his escort; and he came into the isle of Rhodes to his camp, where he was received with salvos of artillery, and the sound of drums, trumpets, and other warlike instruments. His presence put a stop to the murmurs of the soldiery, and made them dread a chastisement. He declared, that the only design of his coming was, to punish a rebellious army, and decimate and put to death every tenth soldier; calling them cowards, at the same time. But Peri Basha, who had a great influence over him, represented to him, that the Janizaries, and even the bravest of that body of troops, were the very men that had appeared most mutinous; that he could not punish them, without discouraging the rest; and that, therefore, in a siege of such difficulty and importance, it were better to overlook their fault, or else to make them sensible of it, by such reproaches as should reinspire them with their wonted bravery.

This Prince, after having concerted with his minister what behavior he should put on, with regard to his troops, ordered them to appear before him, without their arms, and caused them to be surrounded by the fifteen thousand men that he had brought with him to the siege. They had erected a high and magnificent throne for him. The Prince, armed with majesty, ascended it, with a fierce and stately air, and sat there, for some time, without once opening his lips, casting dreadful looks, on every side, which the trembling soldiers considered as the forerunners of death. At last, breaking this dismal silence, "Was I," says he, "to have addressed myself to soldiers, I would have allowed you to appear before me with your arms; but, since I am forced to direct my discourse to wretched slaves, weaker and more faint-hearted than women, and who cannot stand the bare shout of their enemies, it is not fitting that such cowards should dishonor our arms, and the characteristics of valor. I would gladly know, if, whether upon landing in this island, you flattered yourselves that the Knights would prove greater cowards than yourselves, and, in a

dread of your arms, should bring you their own, and come, in a servile manner, to offer their hands and feet to the irons, with which you should be pleased to load them. In order to undeceive and cure you of such a ridiculous mistake, know, that, in the person of these Knights, we are to fight with the flower of the Christian world, with brave men, trained up, from their infancy, in the profession of arms; we are to fight with cruel and fierce lions, greedy of the blood of Mussulmen, and who will not quit their haunt, but to a superior force. It is their courage which has excited our own. I imagined that, in attacking them, I should meet with an enterprise and dangers, that were worthy of my valor. And is it from you, base and effeminate soldiers, that I am to expect a conquest? you, that are flying from the enemy before you have looked him in the face, and would have deserted, had it not been for the sea that encompasses you? But, before such a disgrace shall happen to me, I am resolved to exercise such exemplary justice on the cowards, that the severity of their punishment shall keep such in their duty as might be tempted to imitate them."

Scarce had the Sultan ended these words, when, upon a signal given to the armed soldiers that surrounded the others, they drew their swords, as if they were going to massacre their comrades. Those wretches, at the sight of the drawn swords, whose points were turned against them, fell upon their knees, and cried aloud to the Sultan, for mercy. Then Peri and the other generals, in concert with the Prince, drew near his throne, with the most profound reverence, and besought him, in the most submissive expressions, to pardon those soldiers, who, as Peri said, had behaved manfully, on other occasions, but who, in this, had been unhappily misled by an evil genius and a panic terror. The Basha added, that they were ready to wash out their faults with their blood, and his head should answer to his highness, for their hearty sorrow and repentance. Though Soliman's design was only to reclaim his troops, and bring them back to their duty, yet, in order to keep up, before them, the character of an incensed prince, and engage the soldiers to blot out

the remembrance of their cowardice, by some daring action of extraordinary valor, "I suspend," says he, to Peri, "at your request, the punishment of the guilty: but let them go seek their pardon in the bastions and upon the bulwarks of our enemies." With these words, he dismissed the assembly.

This Prince's discourse, so seasonably mixed with severity and clemency, inspired the troops with their wonted boldness and ancient valor. The officers, especially, to wipe off the ill opinion the Sultan had entertained of their courage, demanded eagerly to be placed in the most dangerous posts. Those very persons, who, before Soliman's arrival, had blamed this enterprise, now found it easy and glorious. One would not have taken them for the same men: they were all on fire, to signalize their courage; and, to speak properly, it is only from this day that we are to date the commencement of the siege.

The soldiers and pioneers carried on the trenches, without intermission. They worked at them in the daytime, as well as in the night; and they were relieved, in their turns, by various detachments of troops, that succeeded one another. The Grand-master, seeing them sustained by strong brigades, did not think fit to continue his sallies, in which the loss of one single Knight was of greater consequence to him than fifty soldiers to Soliman; so that the Infidels, having nothing to fear but the fire of the place, labored, with so much vigor, that they carried on their works, as far as the counterscarp: and, in order to make their lines the stronger, they faced them, on the outside, with beams of timber and planks tied together. They next augmented their batteries; from which they, for several days together, continually fired upon the city. The Turks flattered themselves, that they should ruin the fortifications, in a little time; but had notice sent them, by a Jew, who served them as a spy, in Rhodes, that their cannon had scarce so much as grazed upon the battlements of the wall, whether their batteries were ill placed, or the cannon not well pointed. He added, that the Knights, from the top of St. John's steeple, saw every thing that passed in their camp, and

the parts adjacent; and that, if the Christians should happen to plant some piece of artillery on the top of that steeple, they might either kill the Sultan, as he was visiting the works, or such as carried his orders. These advices determined the besiegers to change the situation of their batteries: they pointed one, among the rest, against St. John's steeple, which was demolished by the first cannon-shot that they fired.

These barbarians, finding Rhodes covered and buried, as it were, under its fortifications, resolved to raise two cavaliers,* that should be higher than those works, and command the city and bulwarks. The soldiers and pioneers, by the General's orders, brought earth and stones, for several days together, which they placed between the posts of Spain and Auvergne, over against the bastion of Italy. As these two places lay open, and exposed to the cannon of the place, it would be impossible to express what a prodigious number of Turkish soldiers and pioneers perished in this work: but Mustapha, in order to advance it, made no scruple of throwing away the lives of these poor wretches. The work, at last, appeared like two little hills, which were ten or twelve feet higher than the wall, and absolutely commanded it.

The General, and the other bashas, then made a distribution of the several attacks. Mustapha took upon himself that of the bulwark of England; Peri, that of the post of Italy; Achmet Basha, a great engineer, undertook the attack of the bastions of Spain and Auvergne; but, as they seemed to be defended by a numerous artillery, and a great number of Knights, the Sultan would have this last basha sustained by the Aga of the Janizaries. The Begler-bei of Anatolia commanded in the trenches, opposite to the post of Provence, and the Begler-bei of Romania was to attack the tower of St. Nicholas. All these generals caused a continual fire to be made.

The post of Germany was the first attacked. The Turks planted several batteries against the wall. They did not think it could long resist the violence of the can-

* Mounts or elevations of earth, to lodge cannon.

non, because it had no platform of earth ; but the Grand-master repaired thither immediately, himself ; and caused it to be supported on the inside, by earth, beams of timber, and fascines : and, as the artillery, which was placed on the gate of his palace, in a place of great height, looked over and commanded the batteries of the Infidels, the Christian cannoniers demolished them, and broke to pieces their gabions, sheds, and parapets. The only remedy was, to make new ones, which, however, did not last longer than the first ; the cannon of the town did sure execution, and beat down all at which it was levelled, whereas that of the Infidels, on the contrary, being ill managed, and pointed against a place of such height, and always keeping the same line and point of elevation, passed above the wall, and shot at random. We may suppose that their gunners were, as yet, wholly ignorant of the method of lowering their cannon, and making it bear downwards, and against the foot of the wall.

The Basha, discouraged at the little service his batteries had performed, removed, and planted them against the tower of St. Nicholas. We have before observed, during the mastership of the Grand-master, d'Aubusson, the ill success of the attacks of the Basha Palæologus ; nor was that of the Begler-bei of Romania more successful. The Basha battered the tower, with twelve great brass guns, but had the mortification to see his cannon dismounted, and his batteries ruined, by those of the tower. To prevent this effect, which was owing to the skill of the Christian gunners, he resolved to fire only by night, and buried his cannon and gabions in the sand, all the daytime. But, as soon as night came, they planted them, again, on the platform ; and, above five hundred cannon shot striking on the part of the wall that looked towards the west, it was shaken down into the ditch.

The Basha was in high delight, at the effect of his nightly battery, and fed himself with vain hopes of carrying that work, at the first assault ; but he was strangely surprised to see a new wall appear, behind the ruins of the first, strengthened with a rampart and parapet, and

lined with artillery to keep off all approaches to it. He was now forced to take a resolution of beginning anew to batter this second wall.

Soliman, being advertised of this, sent to reconnoiter it. They gave him an account, that this tower was the strongest part of the place, not only by its situation on a rock, which was proof against the sap, and could have no mine cut in it, but likewise by the different works added to it, since the last siege : and that, under the reign of Mohammed the Second, his grandfather, the Basha Palæologus had been obliged to give over this attack. These considerations determined the Sultan to remove his batteries to another place. Mustapha, by his orders, directed his attack against the principal bastions of the place ; a prodigious train of artillery battered them, night and day, for a month together. The Chevalier de Barbaran, who commanded at that of Spain, was killed by a cannon-ball. He was succeeded in his command, by the Chevalier John d'Omedes, (afterwards Grand-master,) of the Language of Aragon, who, in defending that post, lost an eye, a few days after, by a musket-ball. The Turks battered all these bastions, at the same time ; that of England was greatly damaged. A new wall, which they had made there, was entirely ruined, by the cannon of the Infidels ; but the old one stood firm, against all the fury of the artillery. The Grand-master ran thither ; and, finding the Turks obstinately bent upon that attack, he lodged himself at the foot of the wall, and, for fear of an assault, caused a reenforcement of fifty Knights to enter into the bastion.

That of Italy was in a still worse condition. Seventeen pieces of cannon, firing on it, day and night, had almost demolished the whole wall. The Grand-master, by Martinengo's advice, in order to get time to make cuts and intrenchments behind the breach, before the Infidels could mount to the assault, ordered two hundred men to sally out, under the command of a serving brother, called Bartholomew, and Benedict Scaramose, an engineer, who had been brought up under Martinengo. They threw themselves into the trenches, sword in hand, sur-

prised the Turks, killed or put to flight all that they met, and, before they made their retreat, filled up a great many yards of the trenches. The Turks did not fail, as that expert engineer had foreseen, to hasten to drive them back : but, as they were forced to pass by a place that lay open and exposed, the artillery, which they had pointed on that side, killed a great number of them, and, by the help of a continual fire, the Christians, who had made the sally, got back into the city, without any considerable loss.

While this skirmish lasted, part of the Knights were busy in digging ditches, and making crosscuts and intrenchments, to hinder the enemy from making a lodgement upon the breach ; while others of them, with musket-shot, killed all that durst advance near it. The cannon of the place played upon and reached such as were at a greater distance ; and nothing appeared, but it was struck down, immediately. Most of the batteries of the Infidels were ruined ; their gabions and sheds were beat to pieces ; and their shoulder works could not save those, who were employed about the artillery, from being taken off by that of the town.

A renegado, Soliman's general of the ordnance, a man well skilled in his profession, had both his legs carried off, by a cannon-shot, which also killed five men, with the splinters of the planks that it broke to pieces. The Turks, without being disheartened, repaired their batteries, and kept firing, continually ; and they had so great a number of cannon, and such a quantity of powder, that they often demolished, in an hour's time, what the Christians could hardly repair, in several days. The Knights began even to want powder, already. D'Ammaral, one of the commissioners appointed before the siege, to visit the magazines, had, in order to favor the Turks, and disable the Knights from continuing their defence, made a false report to the council, and declared that he had found more powder in the place than would serve to sustain the siege, even though it should last a whole year. But it was not long, before they found to the contrary. The powder they had was diminished,

so considerably, that they would soon have had none left, had it not been for the Grand-master's having made provision of saltpetre, and set all the horses of his stable to work, to beat it small, by help of the mills that were in the place: the Bailiff de Manosque and the Chevalier Parisot were appointed to superintend over this affair. However, as they had not so much saltpetre as they would have occasion for, the officers of the artillery were obliged to fire less frequently, to husband their powder, and reserve it for the assaults, which they foresaw the Turks would make on the place, whenever the breaches should be made larger.

This misfortune, owing, as it is pretended, to the treachery of the Portuguese Knight, was attended by another, occasioned by some young Knights, while the Turks were giving a false alarm to the post of Auvergne. The guards were bringing from work a company of slaves, about one hundred and twenty, in number, who were ordinarily employed in digging the ground, or in drawing stones and beams, to make intrenchments. These young Knights, meeting them, struck some of them, for diversion's sake, just as a body of old Knights were passing by, who were marching, in haste, to the post of Auvergne, upon the signals made, on occasion of the false alarm that was given by the Turks. They, seeing it, immediately imagined that those slaves, from an impatient desire of liberty, were risen, and that the young Knights attacked them, in earnest. Possessed with this notion, they fell upon those poor wretches, sword in hand, and cut them to pieces: by this unhappy mistake, killing a company of innocent men, and depriving themselves of the assistance they received from these slaves, who would have served to supply the places of the Christian pioneers, who fell daily, in great numbers, either by the enemy's cannon, or by musket-shot fired out of fusees, of a large bore, which carried as far as the breaches, and into the very city.

The Turkish general, discovering that these peasants, without minding how they exposed their lives, were, by Martinengo's directions, making barricadoes, cuts, and intrenchments, along the breaches, had chosen out of his

army a good number of fowlers, that were excellent marksmen. He had placed them upon eminences, that were nearest the place, and upon cavaliers, that commanded it, whence they fetched down, with their harquebusses, all that appeared upon the ramparts. Martinengo, seeing his workmen killed, without his being able to secure them from the enemy's fire, made them, by way of a counter-battery, plant some small field-pieces on the roofs of the highest houses. These, on their part, killed abundance of the fowlers ; but the killing or disabling ten of those workmen, did not make the Order amends for the death of one Christian soldier or pioneer. The town, being reduced to a small number of defendants, could not lose one of them, without drawing nearer its ruin ; and the Grand-master, in order to protract it, had no resource, but either in a speedy succor, or by prolonging the siege, and holding out, till the coming of Winter and bad weather, when he imagined the Turkish fleet would not be able to keep the sea.

The war had hitherto been carried on, between the besiegers and the besieged, by firing at one another ; and, though that of the Turks, by reason of the multitude of their cannon and the great quantity of their powder, was vastly superior, yet they were not masters of one inch of ground in the bastions and advanced works of the place. The barricadoes and intrenchments served instead of the walls that were beaten down. There was no carrying these new works, but by an assault ; and, in order to make it, it was necessary to try the descent of the ditch, or fill it up. Soliman, who had a prodigious number of pioneers in his army, made various detachments of them, some to throw earth and stones into the ditch ; but the Knights, by help of their casemates, carried off, by night, what they had thrown in, by day. Other pioneers were employed in digging mines, in five different places, in each of which they were carried on, towards the bastion over against it. Some of them were countermined by the vigilance of Martinengo, to whom we are indebted for the invention of discovering the place where they were carrying on, by drums and skins hard braced and stretched.

The Turks had worked with so much skill, that the several branches of these mines had a communication with one another; and all of them, in order to do the greater execution, centred at last in one place. Martinengo discovered one, in the middle of the ditch of Provence, that began at St. John's church. De la Fountaine, an engineer, had it broke open, immediately, drove the miners out of it with grenadoes, and threw in barrels of powder, which burnt and smothered the Turks that were in those subterraneous passages. But, whatever pains he took, he could not prevent the Infidels from springing two mines, one after another, under the bastion of England, the force of which was so violent, that they blew up twelve yards of the wall, and the ruins of it filled up the ditch.

The breach appeared so large, and so easy to mount, that several battalions of the Infidels, who waited the success of the mine, ran immediately to the assault, with great shouts, and sabre in hand. They mounted in a moment, to the top of the bastion, and planted seven ensigns upon it, and would have made themselves masters of it, had they not met a crosscut, or intrenchment, behind it, that stopped them. The Knights, recovering from the confusion into which the terrible noise of the mine had thrown them, ran to the bastion, and charged the Turks with musket-shot, grenadoes, and stones. The Grand-master was, at the very time that the mine sprung, in a church, not far off, where he was before the altar, imploring from Heaven the succor which the princes of the earth refused him. He judged, by the dreadful crash he heard, that the noise, which the mine made, would be soon followed with an assault. He rose up, immediately, and it happened to be at that very instant when the priests of the church were beginning Divine service, and were chanting this preliminary prayer, *Deus in adjutorium meum intende*, ("O God! make haste to deliver me.") "I accept the omen," cried the pious Grand-master; and, turning about to some old Knights, that were with him, "Let us go, my brethren," says he to them, "to change the sacrifice of our praises into that

of our lives, and die, if it must be so, for the defence of our holy law."

He advances, immediately, with his half-pike in his hand, mounts upon the bastion, comes up to the Turks, breaks, overturns, and kills, all that dare oppose him : he pulls down the enemy's ensigns, and recovers the bastion, with an irresistible impetuosity. General Mustapha, who saw, from the trenches, the consternation and flight of his soldiers, sallies out of them, sabre in hand, kills the first of the fugitives that he meets, and shows the rest, that they would find less safety near their General, than they would upon the breach. He advances on, boldly, himself ; his reproaches, and the shame of deserving them, make the runaways rally about him ; the engagement begins afresh ; the dispute grows bloody ; fire and sword are equally employed, on both sides ; they kill one another, both at a distance and near, with musket-shot and the sword ; they grapple with one another, and the strongest or the most dexterous despatches his enemy with a stroke of his poinard. The Turks, lying exposed to musket-shot, stones, grenadoes, and fire-pots, at length abandon the breach, and turn their backs. In vain does their General strive, by threats and promises, to bring them back to the charge. They all break, and take to their heels ; but, in their flight, find a death they were afraid of meeting, in the action ; and they made such a continual fire of the artillery, from different parts of the town, upon the foot of the breach, that they pretend that the Turks lost, on this occasion, three thousand men and three sanjaks,* or governors of places.

The Order lost, by this great advantage, the great master of the artillery, the Chevalier d'Argillemont, captain or general of the galleys, the Chevalier de Mauselle, who carried the Grand-master's standard, and several other Knights, who were killed, in fighting valiantly.

Scarce a day passed, but was signalized by some new attack. Every general officer, to please the Grand Signior, endeavored, at the expense of the soldiers' lives, to push on the works, committed to his care. Peri

* See note on p. 129.

Basha, an old captain, notwithstanding his advanced age, distinguished himself, by continual enterprises. He was posted against the bastion of Italy, and never gave the besieged a moment's repose, either day or night. The hopes he had, of carrying that work, made him plant a good body of infantry, so as to be concealed behind a cavalier, which they had raised on the ditch-side; and, on the thirteenth of September, at daybreak, when the besieged, quite spent with fatigue and continual watching, were overtaken with sleep, he ordered his troops to make the assault. They first despatched the sentinels, passed the breach, and were ready to seize the intrenchments; when the Italians, amazed to see the enemy so near them, rushed with fury upon the Infidels, who opposed them with as much courage and resolution.

The fight was maintained, by the valor of both, for a long time. The Basha stood exposed by the ditch-side, whence he sent them, continually, new reenforcements: but, while he was exhorting them to merit the recompense, which the Grand Signior promised to such as should distinguish themselves, by their bravery, the Governor of the Isle of Negropont, a young lord of singular valor, and Soliman's favorite, was killed by his side, with a ball shot from a musket. Peri, either fearing that the Grand Signior would impute his favorite's death to him, or else desiring to revenge it, redoubled his efforts. The Grand-master, whose valor and love for his Order multiplied him, as we may say, on this occasion, ran to the succor, with a particular body of Knights, that adhered to his person. "Let us go," says he to those about him, "and repulse the Turks: we should not be afraid of men, whom we daily throw into a panic fear." At the same time, he charges the Infidels, with his half-pike in his hand. The Knights of the Language of Italy, under his eye, and in imitation of so great an example, perform the most glorious actions: they all expose themselves to the greatest dangers. A good number of them were killed, on this occasion; and we must do them this justice, that, next to the Grand-master, the saving of Rhodes was that day owing to their courage and intrepidity.

Peri, judiciously concluding that it would be in vain for him to persist in an attack, which the Grand-master himself defended, contented himself with keeping on the fight; and, drawing his body of foot from behind the cavalier that served to cover them, he put himself at their head, and went to attack a new bastion, built in the Grand-master Caretto's time, imagining it not to be so well provided with defendants, and that he should be able to surprise it. His troops advanced to the assault, with great resolution, but were repulsed, with equal vigor, by the Chevalier d'Andelot, who commanded at that work. The citizens and inhabitants ran to his succor: the Turks were soon overwhelmed with showers of grenadoes, stones, bitumen, and boiling oil; and the artillery, planted upon the flanks of the adjoining bastions, scouring the ditch, made a horrible slaughter of them. Peri, after losing abundance of men, in these two attacks, was forced, against his will, to sound a retreat.

The Janizaries, disheartened at so many unsuccessful attacks, murmured, aloud, against an enterprise, wherein one or other of their bravest comrades daily lost their lives. The Vizier Mustapha, fearing lest these complaints should reach the ears of Soliman, and that that Prince, like most of his predecessors, should make him responsible for the ill success, resolved to make a new assault on the bastion of England, and either carry the place, though he lost never so many soldiers, or die himself, at the foot of the intrenchments. He communicated his design to Achmet Basha, who was encamped, and commanded in the quarter opposite to the posts of Spain and Auvergne. These two generals agreed, that, while the Vizier attacked the English bastion, Achmet, in order to divide the forces of the besieged, should spring his mines, and mount over the ruins they would make upon the breaches, and effect a lodgement, there. This enterprise was put in execution, on the seventeenth of September. Mustapha sallied out of the trenches, at the head of five battalions. The troops, sustained by his presence, climbed up the rubbish and ruins of the wall, mounted boldly to the assault, got upon the breach, and,

in spite of all the fire of the besieged, made their way as far as the intrenchments, and planted some ensigns upon them. But they did not keep this first advantage, long. A swarm of English Knights, led on by a Commander of that nation, whose name was John Buck, sallied out, from behind the intrenchments, and, being sustained by Prejan, Grand Prior of St. Giles, and the Commander Christopher Valdner, of the Language of Germany, made so furious a charge, that the Infidels were forced to give back. They retired in good order, however, and still fighting. Mustapha, a much braver soldier than an able general, led on, himself, a reenforcement to their succor. The engagement begins, again, with equal fury. The Turkish general throws himself into the midst of the Knights, kills some of them, with his own hand, and, had he been as well followed by his soldiers, Rhodes would have been in great danger. But the artillery of the place, the little pieces, especially, that played upon the breach, and a great number of musketeers, that galled them from behind the intrenchments, made so terrible a fire, that the Infidels, no longer regarding the menaces of Mustapha, abandoned the breach, and dragged him along with them, in their flight. How glorious, soever, this success might be to the Order, nevertheless, the Knights paid very dear for it; they lost, on this occasion, the Commanders, Buck and Valdner, several English and German Knights, and the greatest part of their principal officers.

Achmet Basha was as unfortunate as General Mustapha, in his attack. He sprung his mines, as had been agreed between them; but that which was under the post of Auvergne took vent, and did no execution. The mine, which played under the post of Spain, threw down about four yards of an advanced work, which served for a sort of fore-wall. The Turks advanced immediately to seize it, but met a body of Spanish Knights upon the ruins, who made head against them, and kept them from approaching. They fought, for some time, at a distance, with musket-shot; but, as the Turks advanced, in close and good order, to break through the besieged, the Chev-

alier de Mesnil, captain of the bulwark, or bastion, of Auvergne, and the Chevalier de Grimereaux, made the artillery of their posts play so apropos and continually, upon the thickest of the battalions of the Janizaries, that those troops, though brave in their persons, and the very flower of the army, could stand the fury of it no longer, but dispersed themselves, and made the best of their way to the trenches.

Soliman lost, that day, three thousand men; and the Order, besides the chieftains above-mentioned, had likewise several Knights killed, on these two occasions; and, among the rest, Philip de Arcillan, of Spanish extraction, whose great valor justly merited him the honor of having his name recorded. Prejan de Bidoux, Grand Prior of St. Giles, who made all the posts that were attacked his own, was shot through the neck, with a musket-ball, but was happily cured of his wound.

About this time,* they† discovered the treason of the Jewish physician, who, by order of Selim the First, had formerly settled at Rhodes, where he served as a spy to the Turks. They caught him shooting an arrow, with a letter tied to it, into their camp; upon which he was immediately seized, and being, on such strong presumptions, put to the torture, he owned that he had given the Infidels continual advice of the weak parts of the place, and of every thing that passed in it; and that, when he was seized, it was the fifth letter that he had conveyed to them, in the same way. His judges condemned him to be quartered; and it is pretended that he died a Christian. His confession of Christianity was very much suspected; but, if he made it only to save his life, it stood him in no stead, for he suffered the punishment he had so justly deserved.

Soliman, in the mean time, enraged at the little progress of his arms, held a great council of war, to which he summoned his principal officers. Various opinions were proposed in it. Mustapha, who, before the siege, out of pure complaisance, had represented the enterprise

* September 20. † Bourbon, p. 31.

as easy, now, dreading his passion and resentment, proposed the giving a general assault, and attacking the town in four different places, at the same time.

The Grand Signior approved of this advice. The general assault was fixed for the twenty-fourth of September ; and Soliman, to inspire new ardor into his soldiers, gave out, that he would give them the plundering of Rhodes, provided they could take it, sword in hand. The Turks, before they gave this assault, made a continual fire, with their cannon ; and, in order to enlarge the breaches, battered the bastions of England and Spain, the post of Provence, and the platform of Italy, for two days together. The evening before the assault, the Grand-master suspected, by the motions he perceived in the enemy's camp, that they were going to attack him. He gave out his orders, and the Knights, following his example, redoubled their care. But, though they had just reason to fear, that the enemy would take their advantage, of opening to themselves a passage through the ruins of those strongholds that had been battered down, in the vast circuit of the walls, they yet were forced to regulate their measures by the few troops they had left, and to distribute the old commanders and principal officers into such posts, as the violence of the attacks, the wideness of the breaches, and the defect in the fortifications, exposed to the greatest dangers.

The Grand-master, taking up his weapons, visited all the quarters, to see the disposition of his troops, and exhort them to a noble defence ; and, addressing himself to the Knights whom he found in their respective posts, "I should offer violence to your courage," said he to them, "should I pretend to invigorate it, by an harangue ; and it would be throwing away time, to tell you, what your valor has so often inspired into you, on the like occasions. Consider, only, my dear brethren, that we are going to fight for our Order, and for the defence of our religion ; and that a glorious victory must be the reward of our valor, or else Rhodes, the strongest rampart of Christendom, must serve us for a grave." Whenever he met any of the townsmen and inhabitants, "Think," said

he to them, "that, besides the defence of the faith, you have taken up arms for your country, for your wives, your maidens, and your children: fight gallantly, my friends, in order to rescue them from the infamy, with which the Barbarians threaten them. Their liberty and your own, your blood, your honor, and your fortunes, are all in your hands, and depend upon your bravery."

These few words, pronounced with an heroic ardor, had such an effect on all, that the townsmen as well as the Knights, and the Greeks no less than the Latins, made public protestations, that nothing but death should make them abandon their posts; and, embracing one another, in a most tender and affectionate manner, their eyes streaming with tears, they bid, as it were, a last adieu to each other, resolutely bent either to conquer or die.

The Turks, at daybreak, made a furious fire from all their batteries, especially against the posts which they designed to attack; not only in order to widen the breaches, but also to be less exposed to view, as they marched through the smoke of the artillery. They mounted boldly to the assault, in four different places: they had never discovered so much resolution since the beginning of the siege, especially the Janizaries, who fought under the young Sultan's eye.

That Prince, in order to animate them by his presence, had placed himself on a rising ground, near adjoining, where a scaffold was erected for him, whence he, as from an amphitheatre, was able to distinguish and judge of the valor of those brave fellows, without any danger to himself. The cannon of the place begin to play: this is succeeded by showers of arrows and musket-shot. The Knights, in all quarters, show their intrepidity, and the soldiers their obedience and courage: some of them burn the assailants with boiling oil and fireworks, while others roll stones of a vast size upon them, or pierce them through, with their pikes. The English bastion was the place where there was the greatest bloodshed. It was the weakest part of the place, the warmest attacked, and withal, the best defended. The Grand-master runs thither, himself; his presence, on the one side, inspires the

Knights with fresh ardor ; hope of booty, on the other, encourages the Turkish soldier. Never did the Infidels discover so much eagerness, in battle ; they mount upon the ruins of the wall, through a storm of bullets, javelins, and stones : nothing stops them, and several of them leaped, like so many desperadoes, from the machines which they had brought near the walls, upon the ramparts, where they were soon cut to pieces. The Knights throw the Turks from the top of the breach, headlong into the ditch : they overturn the ladders, and the cannon of the place make so terrible a slaughter, that the Turks give way, retire back, and are ready to give over the assault. But the General's lieutenant, who commanded at that attack, an officer highly respected among the soldiers, for his rare valor, rallies, and leads them on to the attack. He himself mounts first upon the breach, and plants an ensign upon it. Happily for the besieged, a cannon-ball, fired from the post of Spain, carries him off, and throws him into the ditch. One would have thought, that his death would naturally have cooled the ardor of his soldiers ; but thirst of revenge inspired them, that instant, with a contrary sentiment, and filled their hearts with a sort of rage and fury ; they rush on, headlong, into danger, pleased to die, themselves, provided they could kill a Christian. But all their impetuosity could not make the Knights retire one single step. The priests, the religious, the old men, and the very children, resolve to have their share of the danger, and repulse the enemy with stones, boiling oil, and combustible matter.

Neither did the women yield, in assiduity, to the pioneers, nor was their bravery inferior to that of the soldiers : several lost their lives, in defending their husbands and children. Historians make mention of a Greek woman, of exquisite beauty, who, distracted at the death of her lover, and resolving not to survive him, after kissing her two children, and making the sign of the cross on their foreheads, puts on the officer's clothes, that were still dyed with his blood, snatches up his sabre, runs to the breach, kills the first Turk she meets, wounds

several others, and dies, fighting with a bravery equal to the most courageous officer or the most resolute soldier.

The engagement was carried on with equal fury and obstinacy, at the other attacks. The greatest danger was at the post of Spain. The Aga of the Janizaries, who commanded on that side, led on his soldiers to the assault. The artillery of the place killed a great number of them, before they could get to the foot of the breach. Such of the Turks as are able to cross the ditch go to undermine the wall, and are frequently buried under its ruins, while others of them make use of ladders, to mount up. Some of them heap the dead bodies of their comrades on one another, get to the top of the wall, in spite of all the opposition of the besieged, and penetrate as far as the intrenchments, on which, it is said, they planted no less than thirty ensigns. Unhappily for the Knights, such of them as had the guard of the bastion of Spain had like to have been surprised, by not standing on their guard. The Turks having showed no signs of any design to attack them, those Knights, reproaching themselves for being idle in their post, and seeing the bastion of Italy hard pressed by the Turks, ran to their succor, and left only a few sentinels upon the bastion of Spain. These soldiers, likewise, contrary to all the rules of war, quitted their post, to help the gunners, in transporting some pieces of cannon, which they had a mind to point against the post that the Aga of the Janizaries was attacking. Some Turks, who lay concealed behind a heap of ruins, seeing the bastion abandoned, mount, without being discovered, get to the top of the work, make themselves masters of it, cut the gunners to pieces, pull down the ensigns of the Order, and plant those of Soliman in their stead, and, proclaiming victory, invite their comrades to join them ; upon which the Aga immediately sent a detachment of his Janizaries to that place.

The Grand-master, having notice of this surprise, runs thither, in an instant, makes them point the artillery of the bastion of Auvergne against a breach which the enemy's cannon had made in that of Spain, keeps the Turks

from approaching it; and, from another battery, which faced the bastion, he makes them fire upon those that were in possession of it, and who were endeavoring to make a lodgement there. On another side, the commander of Bourbon, by his orders, at the head of a troop of brave soldiers, enters by the casemate into the bastion, mounts up to the top, upon the platform, sword in hand, in order to drive out the Infidels; where he finds part of them killed by the cannon; he cuts the rest in pieces, again sets up the ensigns of the Order, pulls down those of the Turks, and turns the artillery of the bastion upon such as were mounting up a breach that had been made in that part of the wall which was called the post of Spain. The Aga maintained his ground in that place, in spite of the gallant resistance of the Knights. The Grand-master comes back, thither, at the head of his guards, and throws himself into the midst of the Infidels, with an ardor which made his Knights tremble, as much as his enemies, but from a different motive. The engagement begins again, with fresh fury; the soldiers as yet unhurt, the wounded and the dying, all blended together, after a combat of six hours, want rather strength than courage to continue it. The Grand-master, fearing that his men, who were quite spent, with such a long resistance, should at last be borne down by the multitude of their enemies, drew a reenforcement of two hundred men, with some Knights at their head, out of the tower of St. Nicholas. These troops, who were fresh, and had suffered no fatigue, soon changed the face of the engagement. The Janizaries begin to give back; and, finding themselves pressed by these brave soldiers, abandon the breach, and fly to recover their trenches. Soliman, to cover the shame of their flight, and save the honor of his troops, ordered a retreat to be sounded, after having left upon the breach and at the foot of the wall, upwards of fifteen thousand men, and several captains of great reputation, that lost their lives in these different attacks.

The Rhodians sustained as considerable a loss as they did, in proportion; and, besides the soldiers and inhabi-

tants, they had a great number of Knights killed in these assaults, among which was the Chevalier du Fresnoi, Commander of Romagna, the Commander of St. Camelle, of the Language of Provence, Oliver de Tressac, of the Language of Auvergne, and brother Peter Philips, the Grand-master's receiver. The Chevalier John le Roux, surnamed Parnides, had his hand, with which he had slain seven Turks, carried off, that day, by a cannon-ball. There were few Knights but what were wounded, and there scarce remained sufficient enough unhurt to continue the service.

The Sultan, furious at the ill success of this enterprise, fell upon his General Mustapha, who, out of complaisance, had advised him to it, and gave orders for his being shot to death, with arrows ; a sad recompense for all his services, but such a one as slaves and servile courtiers are frequently exposed to, under the government of the Infidels. The army was drawn up, in battle array, in order to be spectators of the death of their General ; and the unhappy man was already tied to the fatal stake, when Peri Basha, provoked at the punishment they were going to inflict on his friend, made them defer the execution, as he was persuaded that Soliman, when the heat of his passion was over, would not be concerned that they had prevented such a stain to his glory. As he had educated that young Prince, from his infancy, and had still a great ascendancy over him, he went and threw himself at his feet, and begged him to pardon Mustapha. But he found, by his own experience, that lions are not to be tamed : Soliman, still in the first transports of his wrath, jealous of his authority, and enraged to see there was a man in his empire, daring enough to suspend the execution of his orders, condemned him, at the same time, to undergo the same punishment. The other bashas were in a terrible consternation, and threw themselves at his feet, in order to mollify him ; when the Sultan, coming to himself, was moved at their tears. He pardoned Mustapha and Peri, but would never see Mustapha, more, and afterwards sent him at a distance from court, under pretence of another employment.

This Prince, despairing to carry the place, seemed resolved to raise the siege; and it is said, that whole companies, and the heavy baggage, began to file off towards the sea, in order to reembark; when an Albanian soldier, getting out of the town, came into the Turkish camp, and assured them, that most of the Knights were either killed or wounded, at the assault, and that those who were left were not able to sustain another. They pretend, that this deserter's report was confirmed by a letter from d'Amaral, who told the Grand Signior that the besieged were reduced to the last extremity.

These several advices determined him to continue the siege; and, in order to show his troops and the besieged that he was resolved to pass the Winter before the place, he ordered a house to be built on Mount Philerme, for himself to lodge in; giving, at the same time, the command of the army to Achmet Basha, an able engineer, who changed the method of carrying on the siege. He resolved to be as sparing, as possible, of his soldiers' blood; and, before he led them to an assault, to prepare for it, by new cannonadings, and particularly by sapping and mining, and other subterraneous works, in which he was particularly skilled.

This new General made his first efforts against the bastion of Spain, the ditch whereof was narrower and not so deep, as in other places; and, in order to facilitate the descent of it, his artillery played, for several days together, so furiously upon that work, that he ruined all the defences of it; there was nothing left but the barbacan or faussebraye, which lay so low, that the cannon could not hurt it. The Turkish General resolved to run his trenches as far as this work, which covered the foot of the wall; but these trenches being seen from the bastion of Auvergne, the cannon of the Knights played upon them. The Turks, in order to shelter themselves from it, raised a thick wall before the trenches; but they could not bring these several works to perfection, without the loss of an infinite number of soldiers and pioneers. No one could show himself, but he was immediately exposed to the fire of the artillery, and a shower of musket-shot;

and the Knights, at the same time, were continually throwing grenadoes and fire-pots into their works. The Turkish General, to guard against them, raised along the curtain a gallery, with planks, which he covered with raw hides, of which the fire could not take hold. Under shelter of this new work, he undermined the wall, while other companies of pioneers and miners were continually at work, to penetrate under the bastions, and run mines through that place.

These mines having thrown down a great many yards of the wall of the post of Spain, the Barbarians advanced to the assault; but, coming up to the breach, they found themselves stopped by new intrenchments, lined with artillery, the continual fire whereof, after killing a great many of their bravest officers, and a prodigious number of soldiers, forced the rest to run back to their trenches, for shelter.

The Bailiff Martinengo, who was always in action, had, in order to hinder the Infidels from coming to reconnoiter the works he was making within the place, made them cut loopholes for the cannon, in the wall of the counterscarp on the side of the town, whence the Knights killed, with musket-ball, all that durst advance near it. The Turks, after his example, did the like, on their side, and a continual fire was kept up, on both sides. Unhappily, a random shot, from the trenches, struck Martinengo in the eye, just as he was looking through one of those loopholes, to examine the enemy's works; he fell, upon receiving the shot, and they thought him mortally wounded. The Order could not have had a greater loss, at such a juncture; for he was, in a manner, the only person that directed all operations, and determined the time and places where the Knights should exert their valor.

The Grand-master, upon the news of his wound, ran immediately to the place, and caused him to be carried into his own palace. By his care, he was afterwards cured of his wound,—the Knights, and all the people, offering up their prayers for his recovery. The Grand-master filled up his post, in his absence, and undertook himself, to defend the bastion of Spain. The Chevalier

de Cluys, Grand Prior of France, the Commander of St. Jaille, Bailiff of Manosque, the Bailiff of the Morea, and the oldest Knights of the Order, staid about the Grand-master's person, in order to share with him, in the perils and glory of this defence. Actions of extraordinary valor were performed, on both sides; there were new engagements, every day. It would appear very surprising, that so small a number of Christians, who had nothing to cover them, but some barricadoes and weak intrenchments, should be able to hold out, so long, against such a prodigious number of assailants, if this handful of men had not been composed of old Knights, whose valor had been experienced, on a thousand other occasions, and who, on this, were unanimously resolved to sacrifice their lives for the defence of their religion. Men are very strong, and very formidable, when they are not afraid of death.

Historians, speaking of their zeal and courage, use but one sort of eulogium, for all these noble soldiers of Jesus Christ. Not but there were among these warriors different talents, and more or less capacity, in the arts of war; and we should justly deserve to be censured, if we did not do justice to the memory of the Grand-master, who, for four and thirty days, that the Bailiff de Martinengo's wound and illness lasted, never stirred from the intrenchment made on the Spanish bastion, nor ever took any rest, either day or night, excepting only for some moments, on a mattrass, which they laid for him, at the foot of the intrenchment; officiating, sometimes in the quality of a soldier and sometimes in that of pioneer, but always in that of general, if we except that ardor which made him fight like a young knight, and rush into perils with less precaution than became a sovereign.

The example of the Grand-master, who was so very careless of his own life, made the Knights, left in the principal posts of the place, expose daily their own, sometimes in defending the breaches and intrenchments, and often in engagements under ground, when they were to countermine and meet with the enemy's miners. There scarce passed a day, without an engagement, in some place

or other. Besides the bastion of Spain, which was almost entirely ruined, the Turks directed their principal attacks against the posts of England, Provence, and Italy. The prodigious number of troops, of which their army consisted, easily supplied them with men for all these attacks. The walls were quite demolished, in several places, and the breaches were so large, that the Turks could mount, in formed battalions, to the assault of the bastion of England. The Knights, who had undertaken the defence of it, lined the ramparts, sword in hand, and with their bodies made a new parapet, for its defence. They were seconded by the artillery of the city, which played from several places, upon the foot of the breach. The Turks, without being daunted at the number of their slain, rush on, with fury, to attack the Knights, come up with them, grapple with them, and, by their multitudes as much as by their courage, force them to give back. These noble defendants saw themselves on the point of being overwhelmed by the crowd of their enemies, when the Chevalier de Morgut, Grand Prior of Navarre, and one of the adjutant-captains, as they were then called, ran, with his company, to their succor, restored the battle, forced the Infidels, in their turn, to retire, and, with new efforts, obliged them, at last, after the loss of above six hundred men, to sound a retreat, and give over the attack.

But, if the Order had such brave defendants in the persons of her Knights, she likewise nourished in her bosom, and even among her principal chiefs, a traitor, who omitted nothing to forward the loss of Rhodes, and the ruin of the whole Order. The reader may easily perceive, that I mean the Chancellor d'Amaral. The Commander de Bourbon, in his account of the Siege of Rhodes, relates this tragical event as follows.

D'Amaral, says this author, ever tormented with rage, and without being moved, at seeing the blood of his brethren shed, every day, still kept on his criminal intelligence with the Turks. One of his valets de chambre, Blaise Diez by name, in whom he entirely confided, used to come with a bow in his hand, at unseasonable hours, to

the post of Auvergne, whence, whenever he fancied himself not to be perceived, he shot an arrow, with a letter fixed to it, into the enemy's camp. His frequent resort to the same place, especially in a besieged city, immediately gave some suspicion ; but, as they had not seen him shoot any of his letters, and besides, that he belonged to a person of great authority, such as had observed his stolen visits thither durst not mention it, at first, for fear of drawing upon themselves the resentment of a powerful and revengeful man. There was only one Knight, who, stifling all considerations, and seeing the servant return often to the same place, gave private notice thereof to the Grand-master, who immediately gave orders for the seizing of this servant.* He was afterwards examined by the judges of the castellany, who, not being satisfied with his equivocal answers to their interrogatories, ordered him to be put to the torture. He owned, upon the very first twitches of it, that he had, by his master's command, thrown down several letters into the Turkish camp, to point out to them the weakest places of the city. He added, that he had likewise acquainted them, that the Order had lost the greatest part of its Knights, in the last assaults ; and besides, that the city was in want of wine, powder, ammunition, and provisions ; but that, though the Grand-master was reduced to extremity, the Grand Signior ought not yet to flatter himself with the thought of being master of the place, any other way than by force of arms.

This deposition was laid before the council, who gave orders for seizing the Chancellor, whom they carried to the tower of St. Nicholas. Two commanders, grand-crosses, repaired thither, with the magistrates of the city, to examine and try him : they read to him the deposition of his servant, who was afterwards confronted with him, and maintained, to his face, that it was by his orders, only, that he had frequently gone to the bastion of Auvergne, and had thrown letters thence into the camp of the Infidels. This deposition was confirmed by that of

* October 30.

a Greek priest, chaplain to the Order, who declared before the judges, that, passing one day by the faussebraye of the bastion of Auvergne, in order to observe the enemy's works, he found the Chancellor in a by-corner, with this very servant, who had a crossbow, with a quarrel, or square arrow, in his hand, to which he perceived there was a paper tied; that the Chancellor, who was then looking through a loophole for the cannon, returning back, seemed surprised to see him, so near him, and demanded of him, roughly, and in an angry manner, what he wanted: and that, finding his presence in that place was disagreeable to him, he had made off, as fast as possible.

Diez agreed to the Greek priest's deposition, in all its circumstances. This servant, who might perhaps flatter himself with the hopes of escaping punishment, by accusing his master, added further, that the Chancellor was the person that had persuaded the Grand Signior to invade the island, by the advices he sent him of the condition of the place, and despatching the slave before-mentioned to Constantinople, the whole negotiation passing through his hands. They put the Chancellor, at the same time, in mind, that, on the day of the Grand-master's election, he could not help saying, that he would be the last Grand-master of Rhodes. D'Amaral, no ways confused, being confronted, a second time, with his servant and the Greek priest, affirmed, that Diez was a villain and an impostor, whose deposition, he said, was nothing else but the effect of the resentment he had entertained, on account of punishments that his ill conduct had occasioned him. He flatly denied all the facts, advanced by the Greek priest, with an intrepidity that ought only to attend on innocence. They were forced, in fine, to have recourse to the rack; but, before they put him to it, the judges, who were his brother Knights, in order to save him from the torture of it, as also to get from him an account of his accomplices, conjured him, in the most pressing terms, to encourage them to save his life by an ingenuous confession of his faults. But the Chancellor rejected their offices, with indignation, and demanded of them, haughtily, if they thought him base enough, after having served the Order

for above forty years, to dishonor himself, at the end of his life, by the confession of a crime that he was incapable of committing. He bore the torture, with the same intrepidity ; and owned only, that, at the time of the Grand-master's election, at a time when the Turks were threatening Rhodes with a siege, having no great opinion, as he said, of the courage and abilities of l'Isle-Adam, he had dropped a word or two, and said, that he would perhaps be the last Grand-master of Rhodes ; when, turning towards his judges, he asked them, if a word, that emulation and a rivalship for the same dignity had extorted from him, deserved to have the great Chancellor of the Order put into the hands of executioners. But the judges, being persuaded of his criminal correspondence with the Turks, were not dazzled by his protestations. Nobody took his recriminations against Diez for proofs of his innocence : the master and servant were both condemned to death. The Chancellor was sentenced to be beheaded, and Diez to be hanged. Their bodies were afterwards quartered, and exposed to the view of the Turks, upon the principal bastions of the place. The valet was executed first. He was born a Jew, but had been converted, and declared, at his execution, that he died a good Christian. Before d'Amaral was put to death, an assembly was held in the great church of St. John, in which the Bailiff de Manosque presided. The criminal was brought thither ; they read to him his sentence, which ordered him to be degraded, and stripped of the habit of the Order ; which was done, with all the ceremonies prescribed by the statutes. They delivered him over, afterwards, to the secular arm, who carried him to prison, and, the next day, he was carried in a chair to the public place, where he was to be executed. He looked upon all the preparatives to his execution, and the approaches of death, with a resolution worthy of a better cause ; but his refusing, in that extremity, to recommend himself to the protection of the Blessed Virgin, whose image, the priest, that assisted him, presented to him, gave them no advantageous opinion of his piety. Fontanus, a contemporary historian, and an eyewitness

of what passed, speaking of the very different deaths of two grand-crosses, who were appointed, in the beginning of the siege, in joint commission with d'Amaral, to visit and take care of the ammunition and provisions, and who were both killed in assaults, adds, with regard to the Chancellor, of whom he speaks, but does not name, "God had reserved the last of the three for a shameful death, which he richly deserved." However, the services he had done the Order, for so many years, his intrepidity under the most exquisite torments of the rack, the ancient and valuable fidelity of the Portuguese gentry to their sovereigns, of which there are so many illustrious examples in history,—all this, might serve to balance the deposition of a servant. And perhaps the Chancellor would not have been treated so very rigorously, if, when the public safety is at stake, bare suspicion were not, as we may say, a crime that state policy seldom pardons.

But be that as it will. To resume the relation of this famous siege: Soliman, tired out with its continuance, and the little success of his miners, ordered Achmet to begin his batteries again, and dispose his soldiers for a general assault. The eyes of all the universe were then fixed upon Rhodes. The Turks flattered themselves, with hopes of carrying it, by storm; and the Knights, who were reduced to a small number, and were rather hid and buried, than fortified, in the little ground that was left them, waited, with impatience, for the succors which the Christian princes had so long fed them with the vain hopes of sending them, in order to raise the siege. But the Emperor Charles the Fifth, and Francis the First, king of France, were so obstinately animated against one another, that they durst not send away their troops, or divide them; and the other European princes, most of which were engaged on the side of one of those two princes, and were afraid lest their own territories should be invaded, kept their forces about them, for fear of a surprise. The Pope himself, Adrian the Sixth, by name, a pious, and indeed learned, pontiff, but of no great capacity, and entirely devoted to the Emperor, being pressed by Cardinal Julian de Medecis, an old Knight of the

Order, to send his galleys to Rhodes, with a body of infantry which then lay about Rome, the new Pontiff excused himself from so doing, under pretence, that, as he was not skilled in the arts of government, he could not send away his troops, while all Italy was in arms : though it is very probable, that he durst not dispose of them, without the privity and consent of the Emperor, his benefactor ; and that, out of complaisance to that Prince, instead of sending them to Rhodes, he ordered them to march into the Milanese territory and Lombardy, where they were employed against the French.

Thus were the Grand-master and his Knights, after putting their whole confidence in God, left without any hopes of succor, but what they could draw from the Order itself. They were, besides, so unfortunate, as not to receive a considerable convoy, which the French Knights sent, in two ships, from the port of Marseilles. One of these ships, after a storm of several days, was cast away, and lost off Monaco ; and the other, losing her masts in the same storm, was stranded on the coast of Sardinia, and disabled from putting to sea. Nor were the English less unfortunate. Sir Thomas de Newport, embarking with several Knights of that nation, and a good quantity of provisions, as well as money, on board, was caught in the same storm, which drove him upon a desert country, where he was stranded. The Chevalier Aulamo, of the Language of Aragon, and Prior of St. Martin, was in hopes of getting into the port of Rhodes. But he was met, in the Archipelago, by some Turkish galleys, and, after a long engagement, got out of their hands with great difficulty.

The Grand-master, though abandoned, as we may say, by all human succor, did not yet abandon himself, nor despond. This great man discovered, in so sad an extremity, the same courage which had carried him so often upon the breach, and into the midst of his enemies. By his orders, the Knights that resided in the adjoining isles that depended on Rhodes, and in the castle of St. Peter, quitted them, in order to preserve the capital of the Order, and transported thither, on board some light barks

and little brigantines, all the soldiers, arms, and provisions, they were masters of. The Grand-master, in the extremity to which he was reduced, took this step, in hopes of one day recovering those islands, if he could but maintain his ground in Rhodes. But, as they had drawn the like succors from these several places, before, this last, the only hopes the Knights had left, betrayed their weakness more than it augmented their forces. The Grand-master despatched, at the same time, the Chevalier Farfan, of the Language of England, into Candia, to endeavor to get provisions there; and sent another Knight, called Des Reaux, to Naples, to hasten the succors, which were retarded by the rigor of the season. But all his endeavors were fruitless; and one would have thought, that the winds and the sea had conspired, for the loss of the isle of Rhodes, and of this armament,—the last supply of which the besieged had any hopes.

The Turks, to whom some deserters had represented these succors as much stronger and nearer at hand than they were, in reality, used their endeavors to prevent them. Achmet, who, under Soliman's orders, had the whole direction of the siege, planted a battery of seventeen cannon against the bastion of Italy, and completed the ruin of all the fortifications. He afterwards ran his trenches to the foot of the wall; and, to secure his men from being galled by the artillery of the place, he covered these new works with thick planks and great beams of timber. His pioneers afterwards pierced through the wall, and ran their mines as far as the intrenchments; and then, digging away the earth that supported them, they made them sink, so that the Knights were forced to retire further within the town: and the Grand-master, who never stirred from the attacks, seeing the Infidels masters of the best part of the platform of the bastion, was forced to demolish the church of St. Pantaleon, and the chapel of Notre Dame de la Victoire,* to hinder the Turks from making lodgements there; and he employed the materials of those two churches, in making new

* Our Lady of the Victory.

barricadoes and intrenchments, to hinder the enemy from penetrating further into the place.

The Turkish General had the same success, at the bastion of England. After his artillery had played upon it, for several days, and had demolished the walls and ruined the fortifications, several Knights proposed to abandon it, first filling the mines, that were under it, with powder, in order to blow up the Infidels, who should throw themselves into it. But it was remonstrated, in the council of war, held on this subject, that, in the extremity to which they were reduced, the saving of the place depended entirely on prolonging the siege, so as to allow time for the succors, they expected, to arrive; and that therefore there was not a foot of ground, but what was to be disputed with the enemy, as long as possible. This last opinion prevailed; and, though the bastion was entirely ruined, by mines and the fire of the artillery, nevertheless, the Chevalier Binde Malicome offered himself, generously, to defend it; and, in spite of the continual attacks of the Turks, he maintained it, with great glory, to the very end of the siege.

The Turks did not allow any more rest to the Knights who defended the posts of Italy and Spain. They attacked the first, on the twenty-second of November. They had seized, as has been already observed, on the best part of the platform of Italy; the Knights had scarcely a third of it left; and both of them were buried, as it were, in subterraneous works, and divided only by planks and beams from one another. The Turks, seeing themselves in possession of the greater part of this platform, undertook to drive the Knights entirely out of it. A battalion of the Infidels, on the side next the sea, mounted to the assault, while another body attacked their intrenchments, sword in hand. But they met with the same valor and resistance, in all places; and, though the Knights had lost abundance of men, in these bloody attacks, they yet repulsed the Infidels, and obliged them to retire.

It was, however, only to return, a few days afterwards, in much greater numbers. The attack was preceded by a mine, which they sprung under the bastion of Spain.

It made a great panel of the wall fall down; and, in order to hinder the Knights from making new intrenchments, behind this breach, a battery of their largest cannon played, for a whole night and day, without intermission, upon this place. The Turks, upon the thirtieth of November, returned, at daybreak, to the assault, whilst Peri Basha, at the same time, attacked the Italian platform, again. But the main effort of the Infidels was made against the bastion of Spain. The Turks, in great numbers, and sustained by the bravest troops of their army, advanced boldly up to the breach, notwithstanding all the fire of the artillery and small shot of the besieged. Their great numbers prevailed over all the courage of the Rhodians, and they penetrated as far as the intrenchments, which the Bailiff Martinengo had made, before he was wounded: but, at the sound of the bells, which proclaimed the danger that the city was in, the Grandmaster, the Prior of St. Giles, and the Bailiff Martinengo, who was not yet quite cured of his wound, ran, from different places, with the greatest part of the Knights and inhabitants; none of them observing any order, but what his courage, and perhaps his despair, dictated; and all of them, regardless how they exposed their lives, rushed with a kind of fury upon the Turks. The Infidels did not show less courage; they grappled with one another with equal advantage, and without being able to discover what the success of this terrible engagement would be. Happily for Rhodes, there fell a prodigious rain; floods of water fell from the skies, and washed away the earth that served as a shoulder-work to the trenches of the Infidels. This laying them open to the artillery of the post of Auvergne, it played furiously, and killed a great number of them; and the other batteries, which they had placed upon the mills of Cosquin, and the musketeers of the Knights, firing continually upon the breach, and in the midst of the enemy that was lodged there, made so horrible a slaughter of them, that such as could escape the fury of the cannon ran, as fast as possible, to their camp and trenches, notwithstanding all the menaces of their officers.

The Turks were not more successful, in their attack of the platform of Italy. Peri Basha, who commanded at it, after losing his bravest men, and hearing of the ill success of the attack on the Spanish bastion, seeing, likewise, his troops almost drowned with rain, ordered the retreat to be sounded. Such was the success of a day, which would have been the last for the liberty of Rhodes, had not the Grand-master and his Knights preserved it, by neglecting their own preservation, and bravely exposing their lives, without the least reserve.

Soliman could not see his troops coming back, in disorder, and in a downright flight, without falling into a passion. He had been almost six months, with two hundred thousand men, before the place, without being able to take it. The vexation he felt, and his apprehensions that the Christian princes might at last unite their forces, in order to oblige him to raise the siege, made him shut himself up, some days, in his tent, without suffering any of his captains to come near him. No one durst offer to come into his presence; no one but Peri Basha, his old governor, who had a particular privilege to enter, durst venture to speak to him. That subtle minister, in order to bring him to a better temper, represented to him, that the troops were lodged upon the principal bastions; that he was in possession of part of the place; that another assault would carry it; that they had, indeed, to deal with a set of desperate men, who would suffer themselves to be all killed, to a man, rather than surrender; but that the Knights were reduced to a small number; that the inhabitants, who were most of them Greeks, had not the same courage, nor indeed the same interest, to be obstinate in the defence of the place; and that he was persuaded they would not reject a composition, which offered them security for their lives and fortunes. The Sultan approved this advice, and ordered him to put it in execution.

Peri ordered several letters, in the Grand Signior's name, to be thrown into the place, exhorting the inhabitants to submit to his empire, and threatening them, at the same time, with the most cruel treatment, themselves,

their wives, and their children, if they should be taken by storm. The Basha afterwards employed a Genoese, that happened to be in Soliman's camp, who, advancing near the bastion of Auvergne, desired leave to speak. This Genoese, whose name was Hieronymo Monilio, affecting a feigned compassion, said, that as he was a Christian, he could not bear to see the approaching loss and massacre of so many Christians, his brethren, who would be overwhelmed with the formidable power of Soliman; that their fortifications were destroyed, their intrenchments ruined, and the enemy already lodged within the place; that they ought, in prudence, to prevent the dismal consequences of a town's being carried by storm; and that it would not, perhaps, be impossible to obtain a sure and even an honorable composition from Soliman. The commander of the bastion, by the Grand-master's order, answered him, that the Knights of St. John never treated with the Infidels, but with sword in hand; and, lest his artful discourse should make any impression upon the minds of the inhabitants, he ordered him to retire. This cunning agent of the Basha, far from being discouraged, returned, two days afterwards, to the same place, under pretence of having letters to deliver to a Genoese, that was in the place. But the commandant ordering him to retire, he declared, that he brought a packet from Soliman to the Grand-master. This was a new pretext for entering into a negotiation; but the Grand-master eluded it, by refusing to receive it, from the apprehensions he was under, that the bare appearances of a treaty would enervate the courage of the soldiers and inhabitants; and, in order to oblige this negotiator to go off, they fired some musket-shot at him. An Albanian deserter from the city, who had afterwards entered into Soliman's service, was the next to act his part; and, after the usual signals, desired admittance into the place, in order to present the Grand-master with a letter, which he was to deliver to him from the Sultan; but he was not better received than the Genoese. The Grand-master, through fear of discouraging his troops, refused to give him audience, and declared to him, that

they would, for the future, without any regard to signals of parley, or the character of envoys, fire upon all that should offer to come near the place.

Nevertheless, the frequent arrival of these agents, and the Grand Signior's letters, which the Basha had taken care to throw into the city, did not fail to produce the desired effect. The greater part of the inhabitants, being of the Greek religion, began to hold private meetings between themselves; the most mutinous, or rather the most timorous and cowardly, represented, that most of them had lost their relations and friends, in the many assaults that had been given; that they, themselves, were on the brink of ruin; that the enemy was intrenched within the place, and that, at the very first attack, they should see themselves overwhelmed with the formidable multitude of the Infidels; that they had, for a long time, been resolved to sacrifice their own lives, but could not see the dishonor and slavery of their wives and children, without the most piercing affliction; that they might prevent such a terrible calamity, by surrendering upon good terms; and, after all, that, whatever the Knights might allege, the example of so many Christian states, that lived peaceably under the dominion of the Turks, was a plain proof, that they might do the same, and that they, by paying a small tribute, might also save both their religion and their fortunes.

Such discourses as these, repeated at different meetings, determined the most considerable of the inhabitants to apply to their Metropolitan. They begged him to take pity on his people, and to represent to the Grand-master, that, if he did not immediately treat with the Grand Signior, they must necessarily be the first victims of the fury of the victorious soldiers, and that he himself would see the churches profaned, the precious relics of the saints trampled under foot, and the women and virgins exposed to the brutality of the Infidels. The Prelate entered into these just considerations, and laid the remonstrances and request of his people before the Grand-master, who at first rejected the propositions of the Metropolitan with a noble disdain, and declared to him, that

himself and his Knights had, when they shut up themselves in Rhodes, resolved to be buried upon the breach, and in the last intrenchments of the place, and that he hoped the inhabitants would follow their example, and show the same courage.

But the Metropolitan found them in a very different disposition. Fear, on the one side, and a desire of peace, on the other, had obtained an ascendancy over them. New deputies were sent back, the day following, and applied directly to the Grand-master. They declared to him, that, unless he took some care to preserve the inhabitants, they themselves could not help taking the most proper measures to secure the lives and honor of their wives and children.

The Grand-master, justly fearing that despair might occasion a fatal division, that would hasten the loss of the place, referred them to the council. Whilst they were deliberating about this important matter, three merchants knocked at the door of the council-house. They were let in, and presented a petition, signed by the principal inhabitants, in which they besought the Order to make some provision for the safety of their wives and children ; insinuating, at the end of the petition, that, if they should have no regard thereto, they should think themselves obliged, by all laws, both Divine and human, not to abandon them to the fury and brutality of the Infidels. The Grand-master, before any answer was given them, ordered the Knights, who commanded at the several posts, to be called in, in order to learn, from them, a true and exact account of the state and forces of the place. He addressed himself particularly to the Grand Prior of St. Giles and the Bailiff Martinengo, who had, a few days before, taken arms again, and resumed the defence of the place. These two great men, who had so many times exposed their lives on the most dangerous occasions, declared, one after the other, that they thought themselves obliged, both in conscience and honor, to represent to the assembly, that the place was not any longer tenable ; that the Turks had advanced their works above forty paces forwards, and above thirty crosswise,

into the city ; that they were fortified there, in such a manner, that they could no longer feed themselves with the hopes of driving them out, or that they themselves could retire further back, in order to make new intrenchments ; that all the pioneers, and the best of the soldiers, were killed ; that they themselves could not be ignorant how many Knights the Order had lost ; that the town was equally in want of ammunition and provisions ; and that, without a speedy and powerful succor, they could see no resource, and had even reason to fear, that, at the first attack, the Christians would be borne down by the formidable power and vast numbers of the Infidels.

All the council, upon the report of two captains, so brave in their persons and so greatly skilled in the arts of war, were of opinion, that they should enter into a treaty with Soliman. The Grand-master was the only person that differed from them, in that respect, who, without abating any thing of his usual constancy and magnanimity, represented to them, that, in the whole course of so many ages, as the Order had been making war upon the Infidels, the Knights had, in the most perilous occasions, always preferred a holy and glorious death, before a frail and precarious life ; that he was ready to set them an example, and begged of them, before they took so grievous a step, to reflect once more upon it, in the most serious manner.

The principal persons of the council replied, that, if their own particular lives were concerned in the case, they would all follow his example, and freely die, by his side ; that they were ready to sacrifice their lives ; that they had devoted them to God, when they took the habit ; but that the safety of the inhabitants was the business in question ; that, if the Infidels should carry the place, by storm, and enter it, sword in hand, they would force the women and children, and all weak persons, to renounce the faith ; that they would make the most of the inhabitants either slaves or renegadoes ; and that the churches, and particularly the relics, which had so long been the object of their veneration, at Rhodes, would be profaned by the Infidels, and made the subject of their

contempt and raillery. The Grand-master yielded, at length, to these pious considerations, and they resolved, at the first overtures of peace that the Sultan should make, to give an answer, and enter upon a negotiation.

The Grand Signior, uneasy at the thoughts of succors, a report of which the Knights had taken care to spread abroad, and unable either to take the place, or, on the other hand, to raise the siege consistent with his honor, endeavored, by new propositions, to shake the resolution and constancy of the Knights : they planted, by his orders, a flag on the top of the church of St. Mary, and in a quarter called the Lymonitres.

The Grand-master thereupon ordered another to be fixed upon a mill that was at the gate of Cosquin. Upon this signal, two Turks, who, by their dress, seemed to be considerable officers, came out of the trenches, and advanced towards the gate ; they were met there by the Prior of St. Giles and the Bailiff Martinengo, to whom they delivered only a letter from Soliman to the Grand-master, without speaking a word. The letter contained a summons to surrender the place, with advantageous offers, provided they should deliver it up, immediately, and threats of putting all to the sword, if they delayed it any longer. The common council of the Order and the great council were for hearing the conditions which the Sultan offered : they agreed to give hostages, on both sides. The Order sent, as deputies to Soliman, Sir Anthony Grolée, called Passim, and Robert Perrucey, Judge of Rhodes, who both spoke the vulgar Greek, with facility. The Turks, on their side, sent into Rhodes, a nephew of the General Achmet, and also one of Soliman's interpreters, in whom that Prince put entire confidence. The Chevalier de Grolée and his brother deputy were admitted to an audience of the Grand Signior, who told them, that he was disposed to let them go quietly out of the island and the East, provided they would immediately surrender up to him, Rhodes, Fort St. Peter, Lango, and the other little islands of the Order ; but that if, from a resolution of making a rash defence, they should be obstinate in attempting to hold out

any longer, against his formidable power, he would destroy all before him, with fire and sword. The two deputies desired to return into the place, to communicate his intentions to the Grand-master and the council; but the Turks sent back Perrucey, only, with orders to bring a decisive answer, immediately; and General Achmet kept the Chevalier de Grolée in his tent, whom he treated very honorably, and owned to him, at table, in the heat of the entertainment, that the Sultan, his master, had lost, at that siege, forty-four thousand men, who had fallen by the arms of the Knights, besides almost as considerable a number, that had died of sickness and cold, since the beginning of the Winter.

During these preliminaries of the negotiation, a company of young fellows, who were some of the most inconsiderable of the townsmen, and who had not been consulted in the petition, which the principal inhabitants had presented to the Grand-master, ran in a tumultuous manner to the palace, to complain that they were treating with the enemy without their consent, and that would be delivering them up to a perfidious nation, that gloried in breaking their faith with Christians, and that they all chose to die, with their weapons in their hands, rather than be cut to pieces, after the capitulation, as the inhabitants of Belgrade had been. The Grand-master, who was used to the bravadoes and vanity of the Greeks, answered them, with great moderation, that prudence did not allow him to publish the motives of the negotiation, for fear the Grand Signior should be informed of the ill condition of the place, and break it, and his troops make another assault, which he was afraid they wanted forces sufficient to sustain; but that he was exceedingly pleased to find them so well disposed to defend their country; that they should see him always at their head, and ready to shed the last drop of his blood for the preservation of the place: he desired them, only, to remember to bring thither, on the first occasion that might offer itself, the same courage, and all the resolution of which they boasted in their discourse, and in the presence of their Sovereign.

As no great account was made of the idle talk of a troop of braggadocios, the Grand-master and the council being informed by one of their deputies of the Sultan's disposition, thought fit to despatch two other ambassadors to him, and chose for that employment Don Raimond Marquet and Don Lopez Cepas, both Spaniards, who, in the audience they had of the Grand Signior, demanded of him a truce, for three days, in order to regulate the capitulation, and adjust the several interests of the inhabitants, who were partly Latins and partly Greeks.

But that Prince, being always uneasy at the reports spread in his army, of an approaching succor, rejected the proposition of a truce ; and, in order to determine the Grand-master to treat immediately, he commanded his officers to begin firing again, and prepare every thing for a general assault. He sent back, at the same time, one of the new envoys, but kept the other, with a design, no doubt, of resuming the negotiation, if he did not succeed immediately in the attack.

The batteries began to fire, on both sides, but not so furiously on the part of the Knights, who reserved the little powder left them for the assaults they were unavoidably to stand. The Grand-master, seeing the attack begin again, sent for the inhabitants, who had spoken to him with so much ostentation of their courage ; and told them, that now was the time of their giving him proofs of it ; and an order was issued out in his name, and published with sound of trumpet, to all the citizens to repair immediately to the advanced posts, with a strict injunction not to quit them, either day or night, under pain of death. The townsmen obeyed this order, for some days ; but a certain young man, terrified at the danger to which he was exposed, from the enemy's artillery, stealing home in the night, the Grand-master sent to take him, and the council of war condemned him to be hanged, as an example to the rest, and in order to keep up discipline.

Though all the fortifications of Rhodes were ruined, and the city was, in a manner, no more than a heap of stones and rubbish, yet the Knights still kept their ground, in the barbacan, or faussebraye, of the bastion of Spain,

where the Grand-master himself lodged, in order to take the better care of its defence. The Turks attacked it on the seventeenth of December.

The engagement was very bloody and obstinate. They fought, almost the whole day, on both sides, with equal animosity. The Grand-master, and the few Knights he had left, ran, as we may say, to meet their wounds; and, rather than survive the loss of the place, went in quest of death, that seemed to fly from them. In fine, they exerted themselves so nobly, that, after making a terrible slaughter of the enemy, they forced them to retire. But the Infidels, animated by the reproaches of the Sultan, returned, the next day, to the assault, and came on, in such vast numbers, that the Knights, borne down by their multitude, were forced to abandon the work, and threw themselves into the city, to defend it, to the utmost extremity, and bury themselves in its ruins.

The townsmen, terrified at the approaching danger, abandoned their posts, and retired, one after another. The Grand-master and his Knights were forced to make, alone, the ordinary guard of the place; and, if those noble soldiers of Jesus Christ had not kept upon the breach, it would have been surprised, and carried by assault. In fine, all the inhabitants came, in a body, to beseech the Grand-master to resume the negotiation, and entreated him to give them leave to send, along with his ambassadors to the camp, two deputies of their own, to take care of their interests in the capitulation. The Grand-master consented to it; and the body of the townsmen named Peter Singlifico and Nicholas Vergati, when the Chevalier de Grolée, who had renewed the negotiation with General Achmet, conducted them to the camp, and desired him to present them to the Grand Signior. But, before they were admitted to his audience, the Grand-master, in some hopes, though they were very uncertain, of a succor, and with design to spin out the negotiation, had directed him to show Achmet an old treaty which Sultan Bajazet had made with the Grand-master d'Aubusson; in which, he lays his curse upon any of his suc-

cessors, that should break the peace he had concluded with the Knights of St. John. The Grand-master gave this instrument to his ambassador, that he might feel if Soliman, who was a zealous observer of his law, could be prevailed with, in consideration of a considerable sum of money, to raise the siege. But Achmet, as soon as he cast his eyes on the paper, tore it to pieces, trod it under his feet, and drove the ambassador and deputies of the people from his presence. In fine, having no succor to hope for, nor forces enough to defend the city, the Grand-master sent the ambassador and deputies to the camp, who, after making their compliments to the Grand Signior, set themselves with Achmet to draw up the capitulation, the principal articles whereof contained, that the churches should not be profaned, nor the inhabitants obliged to deliver up their children to be made Janizaries; that they should be allowed the free exercise of the Christian religion; that the people should be exempt from taxes for five years; that all who would go out of the island should have leave to do so; that if the Grand-master and the Knights should not have vessels enough to transport them to Candia, they should be furnished with them, by the Turks; that they should be allowed twelve days' time, reckoning from that of signing the treaty, to put their effects on board; that they might carry away the relics of the saints, the consecrated vessels of the church of St. John, the ornaments, their movables, their records and writings, and all the cannon that they used to employ on board their galleys; that all the forts of the isle of Rhodes, and the other isles belonging to the Order, and that of the castle of St. Peter, should be delivered up to the Turks; that, in order to facilitate the execution of this treaty, the Turkish army should remove to some miles distance; that, whilst it lay at that distance, the Sultan should send four thousand Janizaries, under the command of their Aga, to take possession of the place; and that the Grand-master, as a security of his word, should give twenty-five Knights in hostage, among which were to be two grand-crosses, with twenty-five of the principal burgesses of the town. This treaty being

signed by the ambassador and deputies, on one side, and by General Achmet, in the Sultan's name, and ratified by the Grand-master, and the lords of the council, the hostages agreed on repaired to the camp, and the Aga of the Janizaries entered at the same time into the town, with a company of his soldiers, and took possession of it.

Whilst they were employed, on both sides, in executing the treaty, they saw a numerous fleet, off at sea, standing in for the island, under full sail, and with a favorable wind. The Turks, who were always uneasy, on account of the succors that the Christians had so long expected, made no question but they were ships of the princes of the West, coming to raise the siege. They immediately ran to arms. Soliman and his generals were in great pain; but the fleet drawing near the coast, they discovered the crescent in their flags; and, after the troops on board the fleet were landed, they found that they came from the frontiers of Persia, whither Soliman, seeing his soldiers disheartened, by so many unsuccessful attacks, had, in hopes that fresh troops might behave themselves with more ardor in the assaults, sent orders to Ferhat Basha, to bring them with the utmost diligence he could. It is to be presumed, that, if these fresh troops had landed sooner, the Knights would not have made so honorable a composition with the Sultan; but, as they had begun to execute the capitulation, Soliman would not make any advantage of this succor, nor fail in the performance of his word.

Two days after the treaty was signed, General Achmet had a conference with the Grand-master, in the ditch of the post of Spain; and, after several discourses had passed between them, in relation to the attack and defence of Rhodes, he told him, that the Grand Signior was desirous to see him, and insinuated to him, that he ought not to think of going away, without taking leave of his conqueror, lest he should provoke his anger. The Grand-master, being apprehensive that he would be incensed at the long resistance made to all his power, as well as on account of the prodigious number of soldiers which he had lost at the siege, was not very willing to

deliver himself up into his hands ; but as, on the other side, he was afraid of furnishing him, by a refusal, with a pretence, which perhaps he wished to find, of not keeping his word, this great man, who had, during the siege, exposed himself to the greatest dangers, got over all considerations, and resolved to sacrifice himself once more, for the safety of his brethren. He came early the next morning into the quarters to the entrance of the Sultan's tent. The Turks, out of pride and a barbarous kind of grandeur, suffered him to wait there, almost all the whole day, without offering him any thing to eat or drink, exposed to a severe cold, and to snow and hail, which fell in abundance. When the evening was drawing on, he was called in ; and, clothing him and the Knights that attended him with magnificent vests, they introduced him to an audience of the Sultan. That Prince was struck with the majesty that appeared in all the air and over the whole person of the Grand-master, and told him, by his interpreter, by way of consolation, " That the conquest and loss of empires were the ordinary sports of fortune." He added, in order to engage so great a captain in his service, that he had just seen, by a woful experience, the little stress that was to be laid on the amity and alliance of the Christian princes, who had so scandalously abandoned him ; and that, if he was willing to embrace his law, there was no post or dignity in the whole extent of his empire, but he was ready to gratify him with. The Grand-master, who was as zealous a Christian as he was a great captain, after thanking him for the good will he expressed towards him, replied, that he should be very unworthy of his favors, if he were capable of accepting them ; that so great a prince as he would be dishonored by the services of a traitor and a renegado ; and that all he requested of Soliman was, that he would be pleased to order his officers not to give him any disturbance in his going off and embarcation. Soliman signified to him, that he might go on with it quietly ; that his word was inviolable ; and, as a token of friendship, though perhaps out of ostentation of his grandeur, he gave him his hand, to kiss.

In breach, however, of the treaty, and the positive promises of the Grand Signior, five days after the capitulation was signed, some Janizaries, under pretence of visiting their comrades, who, with their Aga, had taken possession of the place, dispersed themselves over it, plundered the first houses they came to near the gate of Cosquin, broke into the churches, which they profaned, and ransacked the very tombs of the Grand-masters, where their avarice made them fancy they should find treasure. Thence they ran, like so many furies, to the Infirmary, that celebrated monument of the charity of the Knights, drove out the sick, and carried off the plate, in which they were served, and would have carried their violence still further, if, upon the Grand-master's complaints, general Achmet, who knew the Grand Signior's intention, had not sent word to the Aga, that his head should answer for the plunder and extravagance of his soldiers. Indeed, the Grand Signior, who was fond of glory and jealous of his reputation, was desirous that the Knights, when they retired into the various states of Christendom, should, with the news of the conquest of Rhodes, carry likewise with them the reputation of his clemency, and his inviolable observance of his word; and this, perhaps, might be the motive that engaged him, when he visited his new conquest, to enter into the Grand-master's palace.

This Prince received him with all the marks of respect due to so potent a monarch. Soliman, in this visit, so very extraordinary in a Grand Signior, accosted him in an affable manner, exhorted him to bear, courageously, this change of fortune, and signified to him, by Achmet, who attended him, that he might take his own time to embark his effects, and that, if the time stipulated was not sufficient, he would readily prolong it. He retired, upon this, after repeating his assurances to the Grand-master of an inviolable fidelity, in the execution of the capitulation; and, turning towards his General, as he went out of the palace, "I cannot help being concerned," says he to him, "that I force this Christian, at his age, to go out of his house."

The Grand-master was obliged to quit it, even before the term agreed on was expired; for, being informed that the Sultan was preparing to set out, in two days, for Constantinople, he did not think it proper to stay in the island, exposed to the mercy of the officers that were to command there, who might, perhaps, in the Grand Signior's absence, value themselves on giving such explications to the treaty as suited their hatred and animosity against the Knights. So that, not thinking it safe to stay any longer, among barbarians that were not over scrupulous with regard to the law of nations, he ordered the Knights, and such as would follow the fortune of the Order, to carry, immediately, their most valuable effects on board the vessels of the Order.

This dismal embarcation was made in the night, with a precipitation and disorder that can hardly be described. Nothing could be more moving, than to see the poor citizens, loaded with their goods, and followed by their families, abandoning their country. There was heard, on all sides, a confused noise of children, crying; of women, bemoaning themselves; of men, cursing their ill fortune; and of seamen, calling out after them all. The Grand-master, alone, wisely dissembled his grief; the sentiments of his heart were not betrayed by his looks; and, in this confusion, he gave his orders with the same tranquillity, as if he had been only to send away a squadron of the Order to cruise.

The Grand-master, besides the Knights, put on board above four thousand inhabitants of the island, men, women, and children, who, not caring to stay under the dominion of the Infidels, resolved to follow the fortune of the Order, and abandon their country.

Prince Amurath, son to the unfortunate Zizim,* would

* *Zizim*, (or, as is more correct, Djem,) son of the Sultan Mohammed the Second and brother to Bajazet, had warred against this Sultan, and, after repeated failures, had given himself into the power of the Hospitallers, after having made a regular treaty with them. Zizim, nevertheless, was carried to France, as a prisoner, and treated with the most cruel faithlessness. He was finally handed over to the Pope; and, when the King of France insisted upon his being given up to him, to be treated as became the brother of a Sultan, and according

gladly have followed the Grand-master, and had agreed with him to come on board, with all his family ; but Soliman, resolving to get him into his power, caused him to be watched so narrowly, that, in spite of all the disguises he put on, he could never get near the fleet, but was forced to hide himself in the ruins of some houses which the Turkish cannon had demolished. The Grand-master, not being able to save him, took leave of the Grand-Signior, and was the last man that went on board his vessel. The first day of January, A. D. 1523, all the fleet, after his example, made ready for sailing ; and the few Knights, who survived this long and bloody siege, were reduced to the dismal necessity of quitting the isle of Rhodes, and the places and other islands that depended on the Order, and in which the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem had maintained themselves, with so much glory, for near two hundred and twenty years.

to the solemn treaty concluded between Zizim and the Knights of Rhodes, Alexander the Sixth, who then occupied the papal throne, resisted for a long time, because the Sultan paid a large sum for his brother's maintenance, and money was of great importance to this criminal and licentious Pope. At length, however, he was obliged to yield to the demands of the King of France. Alexander sent Zizim away, but not till he had poisoned him. Zizim soon died, resisting to the last, all importunities to become a Christian. Zizim had a son who went to Rhodes, and became a Christian. According to Herbelot, he there married, and had two sons and two daughters. He and his two sons were executed, after the surrender of Rhodes, because they would not abandon the Christian religion. The two daughters were taken by Soliman to Constantinople. The barbarous treatment of Zizim has been frequently the subject of discussion ; the question being, whether the Knights knowingly broke faith with him, or whether the Pope was the original cause of his ill treatment. Several new sources have been lately made use of, to settle this question, and it seems that the Knights are first of all answerable for the crime. See the article, *Zizim*, in the ' Biographie Universelle.'

THE SACK OF ROME, IN 1527.

DESCRIBED BY JAMES BONAPARTE, AN EYEWITNESS.

The first half of the sixteenth century contained, in an uncommon degree, the elements of civil fermentation and social disturbance, on a large scale. New doctrines of religion were preached, and the Reformation had begun to array one half of Europe against the other, not only on the ground of theological belief, but of political opinions, also. The political dissensions which arose were influenced by religious differences, and were, therefore, according to the common experience of history, more difficult to be settled than any others. On the thrones of the largest countries, were seated young, ambitious, active, monarchs :—Charles the Fifth, of Germany and Spain ; Francis the First, of France ; and Henry the Eighth, of England. The dominions of Francis the First and Charles the Fifth, but especially of the latter, had become by inheritance, marriage, election, and conquest, most complicated ; and the supremacy over many districts, or whole realms, was disputed between the French King and the German Emperor. The power of the Pope, having necessarily declined, in the same degree in which more compact, enlarged, and national, governments rose up, had received a most serious shock, by the Reformation. It could not, therefore, overawe the power of the Emperor, who ruled over many of the fairest portions of Europe, and extended his conquests over the richest parts of America. Still it was strong enough to make him a desirable ally, or, if allied to the opposite party, a formidable enemy. Italy was divided into many small states, some of which were, nevertheless, sufficiently powerful to make them, like the Pope, important allies or enemies. The feudal militia had gradually lost its character ; and, between its extinction and the beginning of more regular armies, a new species of soldiery had arisen. This consisted of men, making a profession of arms, not, however, organized into national armies, for the well-regulated support of governments, (for such armies did not yet exist,) but unattached

to any country or government, and serving the highest bidder ; and that, in many cases, avowedly for the sake of the expected booty. These men were disbanded, as soon as a campaign was over, when they sought their fortune elsewhere. In most cases, they were not even animated by those mistaken notions, which are, at times, met with in the mere soldier of fortune, and which, erroneous as they are, arise, nevertheless, from noble impulses, and are thus able, in some degree, either to ennoble or temper the passions. The almost universal object of this soldiery was plunder ; and no passions possess the power to convert man into so fearful a fiend, as he is made by religious fanaticism or the craving for lucre. Wo to the sufferer, if his persecutor is stimulated by both ! These men, forming movable masses, to be disposed of by any one who could pay them or allure them by the hope of plunder, increased, in their turn, the facilities for conducting wars, and wars, too, of the worst kind ; because the soldiers took no interest in the general causes of the conflict, nor were they generally inspired with an heroic devotion to a revered general.* On the other hand, these wars greatly increased the number of those, who chose to harass and plunder, rather than to be harassed and plundered. These and other causes produced the numerous wars, during the period which has been mentioned. A great variety existed, also, in the combination of the political powers, by alliances, leagues, or the mutual support furnished in troops or in subsidies.

The first war, between Charles the Fifth and Francis the First, broke out in the Autumn of the year 1521. The Emperor had secretly agreed with Pope Leo the Tenth, and, after his death, with his successor, Adrian the Sixth, to drive the French entirely from the territory of Italy. Openly, however, Charles demanded Milan, as a fief of the empire, and the dukedom of Burgundy, as appertaining to his Netherlands, but having been taken possession of by Louis the Eleventh, King of France. Francis the First, on the other band, demanded back from Spain, the kingdoms of Navarre and Naples. The fortune of war decided for Charles, in the years 1522 and 1523, and Duke

* Having said thus much of the evil spirit, which animated the soldiery of those periods, we ought not to omit to mention Bayard, the "knight without fear or reproach," as an honorable exception. He may be considered as the last ray of the setting sun of chivalry.

Francis Sforza, who had been deprived of the dukedom of Milan, was reestablished. The Spaniards, in 1524, attacked the south of France, but were unsuccessful; and Francis the First now went, in person, to Italy, where he laid siege to Pavia. The Imperial general, Freundsberg or Frundsberg,* and the Duke Charles of Bourbon, (generally called the Constable of France,) a French Prince of the blood, (who, being ill-treated by the mother of Francis, had deserted him and his country, and taken service under the Emperor,) came to rescue Pavia; and, in a battle, fought on the twenty-fourth of February, 1525, the French army was beaten, and their King taken prisoner. He informed his mother of the misfortune which had befallen him, in these words, only: "Madam, every thing is lost, save honor;"—words, with which Louis the Eighteenth concluded a letter to Napoleon, in answer to one written by the latter, then First Consul, in which he proposed to Louis to renounce the throne of France, for some principality in Italy, or a large revenue for himself and family.†

Unfortunately, this fine sentence to the queen-mother proved but a fine sentence; for Francis, after having been a captive at Madrid, for eleven months, signed a peace with Charles, in which, among other stipulations, he resigned Burgundy to the Emperor. Having returned to his kingdom, however, Francis declared, that the states of Burgundy and the parliament of Paris would not allow him to give up Burgundy; and that Clement the Seventh, then occupying the papal see, had dispensed with the oath, which Francis had solemnly taken, to fulfil the conditions of the treaty with Charles. Francis was then about to become the ally of the Pope, who thus scandalously abused and dishonored his authority. A league was now concluded, under the auspices of the Pope, (hence called the *holy league,*) between the Pontiff, Francis, the republic of Venice, and the Duke of Milan, against the Emperor, and under the protection of Henry the Eighth, who was to have an estate in Naples, of thirty thousand crowns a year, for himself, and another of ten thousand crowns a year, for Cardinal Wolsey. These bribes were afterwards increased to much larger sums. In the early part of the year 1527, Duke Charles of Bourbon, supported by the

* Or Franenberg. † Bourrienne.

German general, George Frunsberg, one of the chief enemies of the Pope, marched, from Upper Italy, with an army of about ten thousand Germans, five thousand Spaniards, and four thousand Italians, without the command of the Emperor, towards Rome, where plunder was to furnish the means of support, which the Imperial coffers did not supply. Others state the army to have consisted of thirty thousand men. On the sixth of May, Rome was assaulted; and, although Bourbon fell, mortally wounded, when he was lifting his foot to place it on the first step of the scaling ladder, the city was taken, and given up, for many days, to a pillage, which has been described, by all writers, as one of the most fearful, sanguinary, and criminal, scenes of human guilt, ever recorded, horrible as such scenes generally are, when a great city is taken, sword in hand, and given up to the soldiers. The death of Bourbon left the army free from the restraining authority of an energetic leader. Perhaps, however, even he could not have restrained the savage soldiery; or, possibly, he would have been unwilling thus to thwart them, in getting that ample reward for their toil, to which he himself had always pointed, for their encouragement. At least, it is certain, that he would have been utterly unable to restrain their avarice, cruelty, and carnal appetite, during the first days of pillage. It is the description of this scene of horror and guilt, this stern page of history, which shows to what enormous excesses man may be led by his passions, if uncurbed by morality, religion, honor, and noble impulses, which I am about to give, in the following translation from the description of an eyewitness, one of the ancestors of Napoleon.

James Bonaparte, the author of this account, lived at the court of Rome, when it was sacked. He composed several works, which have never been published. I am obliged to translate, not from the original, but from a French translation, a limited number only of which were printed, (I believe not published, but merely struck off, for distribution,*) under the title, 'Sack of Rome, written in 1527, by James Bonaparte, an Eyewitness, translated from the Italian, by N. L. B., Florence, Grand-dueal Printing office, 1830.' The letters, N. L. B., are the initials of Napoleon Louis Bonaparte, son to Louis Bonaparte, Count

* I owe the copy in my possession to the kindness of Joseph Bonaparte, Count Survilliers.

St. Leu, once King of Holland. Napoleon L. Bonaparte died, in 1831, in Italy, during the insurrection of the people, which took place in that country, subsequent to the French revolution of 1830.

This Work of James Bonaparte, of which I shall give the latter half, only, (the first half being occupied with an historical survey of Italy,) contains, likewise, the names of many members of the Bonaparte family, who have distinguished themselves by literary works or deeds of arms, or whose names have been preserved, because they happened to be magistrates, or in other public employment. It begins with the mention of a John Bonaparte, sent, in 1178, from the free city of Treviso to Padua, in an official capacity.*

The reader will not peruse, without interest, the distinction which James Bonaparte makes, between the more relentless cruelty of the Spaniards, although Roman Catholics, and the greater placability of the Germans, though Protestants. This richer fund of bonhomie,† manifesting itself, in some degree, even in this riot of crime and ferocity, and testified to by a witness, who surely must be considered as impartial, upon this point, (perhaps even reluctantly impartial,) is a striking illustration of Bacon's remark, that stabbing is not our nature, (meaning thereby, not the nature of the Teutonic race.)

THE dawn of the sixth of May, which ushered in a day of sorrow and tears to so many people, found the Imperial army already drawn up, for attack. Duke Charles, (of Bourbon,) who could be recognised by his white dress, rode along the lines, and called upon the soldiers to fight bravely. Addressing, alternately, the Spaniards, the Germans, and the Milanese, he reminded them, that it was necessary to show, on this occasion,

* This list mentions Lewis Mary Fortunatus Bonaparte, (of that branch of the family which was established at Sarzana, in Italy,) as the first, who, in 1612, passed over to the island of Corsica, in the times of the war with Genoa; and that he settled at Ajaccio, where he became the founder of the Corsican branch of the Bonaparte family. This, according to the donor of the copy mentioned in the preceding note, is erroneous. It was a Francis Bonaparte, who established himself, in 1512, in the island of Corsica, and became the founder of the branch, from which Napoleon descended.

† Good nature.—I.

the same ardor, the same intrepidity, which they had evinced in other circumstances ; that, not only their reputation, but their lives also, were that day at stake ; and that no other resource was left them, but to conquer, since the troops of the league were behind them ; and he urged them, that, rather than fall alive into the hands of their enemies, they should die by their own hands, if there were no other way of escape. He then renewed the promises which he had so often made, assuring them, that, besides their portions of the booty, they should be placed in the possession of rich domains, castles, and towns. He reminded the Lutherans, who had come with Franenberg, of the almost insufferable hunger, the absolute want of money, and the privations of all sorts, which they had been obliged to endure, solely with the object of taking Rome ; that their courage soon would open the gates of that city, into which they would enter, with their wives and children ; and where they might enjoy, at their leisure, the incredible treasures of so many lords, princes, bishops, and cardinals. Wherever he saw a group of soldiers, he accosted them, to encourage them for the approaching assault.

Already had the Spaniards, urged by their accustomed valor, begun to break into several parts of the city. On the side of the Via* Julia, a division of the Swiss guard of the Pope had gallantly repelled the attack of the enemy. The latter suffered much, too, from a battery, which, placed on a neighboring hill, directed a galling fire upon their flank ; two Spanish colors, already planted on the top of the wall, were carried off, and the ensign-bearers thrown down into the fosse.

A detachment of the assailants endeavored to glide, without noise, into the ward, called the ward of the Holy Ghost, above the garden of Cardinal Ermellino, where the walls are lower.†

* *Via* is the name for street or road.

† Here follows a detailed description of the defective fortification of this point. The negligence, of leaving a part of the fortification so vulnerable, is ascribed to Captain Renzo da Ceri, and the other engineer officers, to whom the superintendence of the fortification had been intrusted.

A heavy fog had been arising from the marshes, ever since the break of day. It enveloped the environs, and finally intercepted the light of day, in such a manner, that it was difficult to see beyond the distance of two steps. On this account, the artillery of the castle St. Angelo could do no more injury to the enemy than other batteries: they fired at random; for, so great was the darkness, that the artillerists had to trust rather to their ears than to their eyes, and were obliged, at the risk of wounding soldiers of the garrison, to turn their fire in the direction from which the reports of the hostile artillery came.

While the Imperialists were fighting strenuously, and striving to obtain a footing in the city, Bourbon, heated with the passionate desire of victory, and at the head of the most intrepid of his troops, grasped, with his left hand, a ladder, leaning against the wall, and with his right made a sign to his soldiers to mount, and follow their comrades. At this moment, a ball, fired from an arquebuss, entered his side, and penetrated through the body. He fell, mortally wounded.* It is reported that, before expiring, he pronounced these words: "Officers and soldiers, hide my death from the enemy, and keep steadily advancing. Victory is yours; my mishap cannot ravish it from you."

Thus, according to some, perished Bourbon; according to others, his death was accompanied by some different circumstances. All, however, agree, that it took place under the walls of Rome; it being the will of God, that his punishment should closely follow upon his offence, and that a man of his rank, traitorous and impious, should not feast his eyes in beholding the sacred city sacked and ruined by his sacrilegious soldiery. For the rest, he was an excellent general, distinguished by his liberality and bravery. If he had been a good Christian, in-

* The vain-glorious Benvenuto Cellini, one of the most distinguished artists of his age, says, in his life, that it was he who directed the cannon against Bourbon, and that he saw him falling. Even if Cellini's account could otherwise be trusted, the heavy fog, mentioned by Bonaparte, shows how utterly unfounded the claim of Cellini is, especially when we consider that he was, according to his own account, in the castle St. Angelo.

stead of being a Protestant ;* if he had loyally served his King, instead of being faithless to the master to whom he had sworn allegiance and faith, it would not be difficult to count him among the most celebrated captains of modern times.

When the report of so fatal an accident had spread among the commanders of the Imperial army, their ardor abated, for a moment. They felt what an irreparable loss they had sustained, and saw that it might frustrate the success of their attack : yet they considered, that, thrown into so desperate an undertaking, it was no longer within their power to stop, and that there was no hope for them left, except in victory. Having held, therefore, a council of war, they agreed that it was necessary to redouble their efforts and the vigor of their attack, in order to snatch boldly from out the hands of fortune, the prize, which she accords to perseverance and intrepidity only. They returned to the attack, with renewed vigor, and assailed the besieged with more impetuosity than at the first. The fog, which covered them, had not yet been dissipated, and continued to protect them against our fire, in such a manner, that, in spite of the most obstinate defence, the soldiers of the Pope could not repel them, one step, nor obtain the slightest advantage over them. Nevertheless, our men neglected nothing, to keep them off; they threw upon them enormous blocks of stone, lighted torches, and boiling pitch ; they directed a shower of bullets, slugs, grapeshot, and musket-balls, toward points from which their enemy's ferocious warcry rose. On both sides, the obstinacy was unyielding and bitter, and lasted, at the least, a whole hour, without the smallest abatement ; but

* James Bonaparte was a Roman Catholic priest, and the remark against the Protestants will appear natural enough, especially if we consider the time at which he wrote ; but I do not know what he means by Bourbon having been a Protestant, (the French translation has *réformé*,) unless he uses the expression with reference to the Lutherans, who served under him. Yet nothing was more common, than that Protestants fought on the Roman Catholic, and Roman Catholics on the Protestant, side. In this case, however, Bourbon fought in the name of his Catholic majesty ; and died a "good Christian," in Bonaparte's phrase ; an expression, which, to this day, signifies, in Spanish, a Roman Catholic.

the Imperialists began to get the better of the conflict: they were the superiors, in number, and were able unceasingly to relieve each other. When one line of arquebusiers had fired several rounds, it retired, and was instantly replaced by fresh troops. The besieged could not see the number of their enemies, thus constantly relieving one another, nor witness their audacity, without some feelings of discouragement. Though they had taken several banners from the enemy, and had repelled them, several times, from the walls; the increasing fury of their adversaries gradually intimidated them, and made them doubt of success.

The detachment of Spaniards, which had directed its efforts against the garden of Cardinal Ermellino, had succeeded in penetrating into the city, either through a murderous breach, made by force of balls and pikes, or through the window of the cellar,* at about thirteen o'clock, (twenty minutes after nine,) in the morning,† without the knowl-

* This cellar, or cave, is spoken of in the omitted passage, alluded to in a previous note.

† According to the old way of counting time, in Italy, the hours of the day are reckoned from sunset. Sunset is twenty-four o'clock; one o'clock, therefore, is one hour after sunset, so that the number designating midnight or noon, varies, but it always indicates to the laborer how many hours of daylight are before him. As it is customary to ring the bells at sunset, to invite the people to offer an Ave-Maria, (or prayer to the Virgin Mary,) the twenty-fourth hour is generally called Ave-Maria. The French introduced the common manner of computing the hours, by repeating twice the number twelve, beginning with noon and midnight. But when the papal government was reestablished, the people preferred the old way of counting the hours, to the "French way," as it was called. This might be on account of the general adhesiveness to old customs; or, because the old manner is more convenient to the field-laborer and the mechanic, in a country where so many arts are carried on in the open air, and the hour of sunset is, consequently, of the greatest importance, forming so distinct a demarcation, in the whole economy of industry and domestic life. In Florence, the "French way" was retained, if indeed it had not been introduced before the Revolution. The old way was retained at Rome, to my personal knowledge, as late as in 1824. Whether it has been changed, since, I am unable to say. Where the old way of computing the hours is retained, the almanack gives, for each day, the hour and minute at which Ave-Maria is tolled, or, at which the sun sets; or, which amounts to the same thing, it gives the exact number for noon. To one who is accustomed to the twelve-hour system,

edge of the inhabitants. The detachment was followed by a part of the army. Since that part of the wall, which leads from the gate Terrione to the ward of the Holy Ghost, is lower than any where else, and was moreover badly mounted and feebly defended, many persons feel persuaded, that the enemy penetrated into Rome, in this part of the city. But if it be considered, that the first who entered were but few, that the only breach in the enclosure was on the side of the small house,* the lower opening in which had been enlarged, (by the enemy,) and which had sustained great injury, I make no doubt that the reader will agree with the opinion of the greater part of the inhabitants, who have always believed that the enemy broke first into the city through that window. This is at least my opinion ; but I have no objection that every one should believe what appears most probable to him.

It was Renzo,† who first saw the Spaniards enter ; and it is said, that he cried, immediately, " There is the enemy ! Save, save yourselves !" If he did really pronounce these words, it must be agreed, that they were supremely ill-placed,‡ in his mouth. His duty, as an officer, was to rally his people around him, to make stand against the enemy, to fall upon them, with impetuosity, and to beat them back beyond the walls, if this was possible,§ as many other captains have done, in critical circumstances. After having given the signal of flight, as many persons present in the action have assured me, he precipitately retreated toward the Sixtine bridge, followed by some foot-soldiers and by the populace, all in confusion and disorder, as usually happens in such routs. The soldiers, having learned that Renzo was flying, im-

the Italian manner appears much more inconvenient, when merely reading of it, than he really finds it, in practice ; for, as already alluded to, it has the convenience of showing, at any precise moment, how many hours of daylight are yet left ; a point of some importance, in Italy.

* This house is described in the omitted part.

† Renzo has been mentioned in a previous note.

‡ Souverainement déplacées.

§ Or to die, sword in hand.

mediately abandoned their posts. Suddenly, a hostile soldier cried, "Viva España !* Kill, kill, every thing before you." The tumult was at its height. It was only after the greatest trouble, and having taken many circuitous routes, that Captain Renzo, in company with the fugitives, succeeded in gaining the castle St. Angelo.†

Pope Clement heard the cries of the soldiers, and precipitately saved himself, through a long corridor, built in a double wall. He caused himself to be carried from his palace to the castle St. Angelo. He wept, and lamented that he had been betrayed by all the world, and on his way, he could see from the windows, his unfortunate soldiers completely routed, and pursued by ferocious enemies, who slew them with their halberds. The Pontiff, at his arrival at the castle, found neither provisions nor ammunition; and he instantly ordered, that every thing should be obtained from the neighboring houses that could be procured in so great a confusion.

While the supplies were procuring in such haste, the entrance into the castle was blocked up by such a number of prelates, merchants, gentlemen, and ladies, that they could not be admitted. At length, it became possible to let down the portcullis, but only with great difficulty, on account of the accumulated rust.‡ More than three thousand persons were crowded together in the interior. Among these, were a great number of distinguished persons, including all the cardinals, except four, who believed that they might venture to remain in their palaces, because they were chiefs of the Ghibelline par-

* Pronounced, Viva Espanya, meaning, Spain for ever !

† The castle St. Angelo is a fort, situated on the right bank of the Tiber, (looking down the river,) in the north of Rome, and close to the river. It is built upon, and principally consists of, the stupendous remains of the mausoleum which Adrian caused to be built, to receive his ashes, in the gardens of Domitian, nearly over against the mausoleum of Augustus. The Popes have repeatedly used it as a place of refuge against foreign enemies, or the revolted populace. On the top of the main building, the remaining *moles* of the mausoleum, stands a colossal statue of the archangel St. Michael, from which the fort derives its present name.

‡ It must be owned, that the Pope could not have had very active and wise officers.

ty.* Cardinal Pucci received several severe blows on the head, before he arrived at the castle St. Angelo, into which he was carried, almost dead, through a window, by his servants. Cardinal Ermellino, together with many other gentlemen, caused themselves to be hoisted in a basket upon the wall of the castle.

A totally different result had been anticipated. The Florentine merchants, the prelates, and other people, ran to and fro, to find a retreat. It was no longer possible to leave Rome. Some retreated into the houses of the Colonna family ;† others, into those which belonged to Spaniards, Flemish, and Germans,‡ who were established at Rome ; and still others sought safety in the palaces of the four Ghibelline cardinals.§

It is painful to observe, that none of the captains or soldiers, in the service of the Church, tried, in this great catastrophe, to cut off the bridge, and to defend the walls of the ward Trastevere ;‖ that not one resolved to die, sword in hand, rather than basely to give himself up to an implacable enemy. All fled to save themselves, augmenting, by the disorder of their retreat, the terror of the lower classes, and yielding to their adversaries the certainty of victory. If all the commanders had agreed with

* The Imperial party.

† The Colonnas were one of the most famous families of Rome, in the middle ages and at later periods. Pope Martin the Fifth, elected in 1417, by the council at Constance, and who is mentioned in the account of the death of Huss, given in this Volume, was of the Colonna family. The patron of Petrarch was likewise one of its members. Distinguished generals, statesmen, and prelates, have proceeded from this family. They were Ghibellines, or for the Emperor ; people, therefore, hoped they should be safe in their palaces.

‡ Charles being King of Spain, Emperor of Germany, and lord of the Netherlands, people hoped that the houses of his subjects in Rome would afford an asylum, sufficiently sacred, in the eyes of a soldiery fighting in his name.

§ The body of cardinals was divided into factions, as they termed it; that is, parties, siding with one or the other of the most potent monarchs, and receiving pensions for their support ; as Frederic the Second of Prussia paid Panin, minister to Catharine the Second, to support his interest against Potemkin, and as formerly so many ministers drew pensions from foreign powers.

‖ Which means, beyond the Tiber.

one another, and concerted the proper measures to defend the lives and property of their fellow-citizens, their efforts would have been crowned with complete success.* It would have been necessary to set fire to the wood and to the fascines which covered the bridge, as the Romans did, in olden times, when Horatius Cocles heroically resolved to receive, upon his single breast, the shock of the enemy. The Imperialists would have been placed, by the destruction of the bridge, in the same difficulty in which they found themselves before their entry into the city. Indeed, their situation would have been still more disadvantageous, exposed, as they would have been, to the continual fire from the castle St. Angelo.† Moreover, a short time after the entry of the enemy, several horse and foot of the black bands, who could have entered so easily into Rome by the Porta di Populo,‡ and vigorously impeded the progress of the Imperialists, arrived at Monte Rotondo.§ If the Roman soldiers had not too soon given up the idea of defending the city, they would have profited by this reenforcement to aggravate the difficulties of the position in which the enemy would have been placed, and to reanimate the fainting zeal of their allies. By this means, they would have secured the liberty of the Pontiff.

When the Spaniards perceived Renzo, and those who defended themselves behind the walls and entrenchments, basely taking to flight, they called, with great noise, upon

* Hardly ! For the soldiers of the Pope did not fight for "fellow-citizens," as Bonaparte expresses it. They were mercenaries, like the assailants ; but there was this difference : the latter fought for booty, perhaps existence, because Lutrec, the commander of the army of the league, it was feared, might approach daily ; while the besieged fought but for their pay, and perhaps some gratuity, in case of victory.

† But Bonaparte has before told us, that there was no powder in the castle St. Angelo. No essential change would have been produced by such means as those mentioned above, in a war of tried, gallant, and furious, soldiers, against men who had not even looked after the portcullis, and greased it in time.

‡ Porta di Populo, or Gate of the People, the ancient Porta Flaminia, the northern gate of Rome, near the Tiber ; the gate through which every foreigner, who comes from Upper Italy, enters.

§ Four leagues north-northeast of Rome.

their comrades without ; these promptly joined them, and they followed up their advantages together. They thought no longer of any thing else, but of killing all with whom they should meet. From time to time, those of our soldiers, who did not run like their fellows, and were desirous of facing the enemy, seeing themselves overwhelmed by numbers, and finding no other means of escape, adroitly glided among the victors, and turned their arms against the inhabitants, who, but an instant before, were their friends. On the other side, the German soldiers, having passed the high trenches, in various places, cut the populace into pieces, as they hastened to throw down their arms and sue for quarter. Not one of the Roman soldiers could escape the wrath of the conquerors. In vain did they retreat, without arms, into the churches or sacristies ; in vain did they embrace the altars ; in places, which even the most cruel of men, the Goth Totilas and the Vandal Genseric, had respected, they were massacred, without mercy. Thus, the Imperialists possessed themselves, in a very short time, and almost without further loss, of the suburbs of Rome.

Nearly the whole army had entered by the gate of Pancratius, broken and shattered by the terrible shocks it had sustained, and by the carrying of the intrenchments. It was now restored by the provisions found in the place of which it had taken possession. The chiefs gave out, that, on account of the death of Bourbon, and also for other reasons, they intended to treat with the Pope. His Holiness* believed them sincere. The ambassador of Portugal was sent to the Spanish captains, to treat with them. These received him with new protestations of their desire to come to some arrangement. In truth, they were already masters of one part of the city ; but they were not yet sure whether they would be able to cross the Tiber. They artfully feigned to incline toward peace ; and, after having thus carried on their deception, for some time, they held a council with the German commanders. Upon leaving this council of war,

* The Pope is styled his Holiness, as a King is called his Majesty.

they declared that it was useless any longer to negotiate; that they would no longer be held back; and that they did not care how fatigued their troops were; they would have the rest of the city. They had thus obtained time to inform themselves of the means which the inhabitants had to defend themselves, and to assure themselves that no resistance need be feared from this panic-stricken multitude. They marched, therefore, at the sound of trumpets, drums, and other military instruments, toward the great entrance into the city proper, where they had been preceded by a thousand arquebusiers, who had received orders to surprise the troops, who, it was presumed, would be found placed to defend it. But it was undefended; the few men, to whom this post had been assigned, had run away, as soon as they had perceived the approaching enemy, seized with such a panic, that they had not even let down the portcullis. Two Spanish archers passed the entrance, and threw themselves boldly into the city. They were received with a shower of balls and bullets, but neither of them was hit. The Spaniards pursued their way, without fearing the death which threatened them, from all sides, and entered the neighboring square, of which they immediately took possession, with the assistance of their comrades, who had followed them. Immediately after, without losing any time, they, with the rest of the army, proceeded toward the Porta Settimiana, (Septimian Gate.) The Italians, commanded by Lewis de Gonzagua, surnamed Rodomont,* on account of his bravery, and of the terror, with which he inspired his enemies, passed the wall which leads from the gate of St. Pancratius to the Septimian gate, and traversed the vineyard of the Janiculum.† They drove the Papal soldiers from this place, with great ease, and rejoined the bulk of the army near the Sixtine bridge, which they boldly passed, without meeting with much opposition.

* *Rodomont* is the name of the fictitious hero, celebrated in the great epic of Ariosto.

† The Mons Janiculus, or the Janiculum, a hill or ridge on the west of Rome, from which the most commanding view of the city may be enjoyed.

They killed all the fugitives, upon whom they could seize, and made their general entry into the city, forty thousand* strong, divided into various troops :—twenty thousand Germans, six thousand Spaniards, and the rest Italians, commanded by Fabricius Colonna, and the abovementioned Gonzagua,—old, heavy-armed foot or lighthorse, of all nations, without a common general-in-chief, gathered together, under their colors, solely by the hope of booty. Among their officers, were observed, Ferdinand Gonzagua, and Philibert of Orange, a Fleming, to whom, after the death of Bourbon, the soldiers had assigned the chief command.

After having ravaged all the suburbs, and passed the Sixtine bridge, they took their march toward the castle St. Angelo, whither, as they had heard, the Pope had retired; they hoped thus to possess themselves of the persons both of the Pontiff and the other chiefs of the Roman Church. They attacked the castle, with fury. A Spanish colonel, at the head of his regiment, exerted himself to blow up the gate ; but he paid the penalty due to his temerity. He lost his life, and a large number of his followers perished with him. The others, discouraged by this failure, considered, for the moment, the difficulties of the place insurmountable. They placed strong guards there, and returned to consummate the ruin of the Roman people. These latter were petrified, with fear ; all the brave men, who might have been successfully opposed to the fury of the barbarians, had disappeared ; they hoped no longer for aid, from without. Dismayed, they thought their last hour had come, and resigned themselves, beforehand, to the treatment which they had to expect at the hands of so infuriated a soldiery. They envied the lot of those who had had the good fortune to fall under the walls of Rome, while defending their country. A great number of inhabitants, separated already, as it were, from the goods of this world, would have considered themselves happy, could they but appease the fury of the conquerors at the price of all they possessed.

* This number, according to the statement given in the introductory remarks, is much too large.

In fact, the horror of their destiny was to realize all the terrors which their imagination had created.

The army, giving up the siege of the castle, divided itself into several bodies, proceeding into different quarters. They perceived, in passing along, fathers and mothers of families, stationed at the threshold of palaces, or at the entrance of their houses, in despair, at the loss of their sons, killed in combat, and horror-struck, at the misery which yet threatened their doomed city. These unfortunate beings, dressed in mourning, offered to the enemy, their houses, furniture, all their goods, and, melting into tears, asked, with the voice of supplicants, that they would spare their lives. These touching prayers had not, however, the power to move the hearts of the ferocious soldiers. As though the sound of drums and trumpets had animated them for carnage, they threw themselves, sword in hand, upon these wretched beings, and, without distinction of age, sex, or place, slew all they could espy. The foreigners were spared no more than the Romans, because the murderers fired indifferently upon both, without any other motive than a thirst for blood. Exasperated by the death of their chief, they defiled themselves with barbarities, of which history hardly shows any other instance. Finding no longer any resistance, they became, in a short time, complete masters of this ancient and noble city, where treasures were accumulated, such as were sufficient to satisfy an army, the most greedy for pillage.

The Spaniards were the first who became gorged with carnage, and felt some feeling of humanity reappearing within them ; some compassion for the conquered, who, though enemies, were Christians. They ceased to slay those that fell into their hands, and contented themselves with making them prisoners. When the Germans saw this, and perceived that the Spanish regiments did no longer follow what they themselves termed the laws of war, they began to suspect the latter of treason. The Spanish officers, in order to dissuade them, made them understand, that the city was taken, and abandoned by those who might have defended it ; that nothing was to

be feared, on their score ; that, as the inhabitants had concealed every thing most valuable, it was advisable to grant life to those who would discover their treasures. The Germans perceived the weight of this remark. They, on their part, began now, likewise, to stop the passers-by, or the Romans whom they found on the thresholds of their doors, and who implored their mercy. They forced the unhappy beings to open their rooms, from which they carried off every thing that they conveniently could.

They did not stop at this species of robbery. They committed outrageous violence upon all women whom they met. The prisoners were witnesses to these heart-rending scenes ; but who could oppose them ? No one dared even to lift his voice. The prisoners were prohibited from crying out, at calamities, sufficient to move hearts of flint, and to touch the most impious. These barbarians had consideration neither for elevated rank, nor nobility of blood, nor the prayers of beauty, nor the tears of mothers. Their hearts were securely closed against every sentiment of humanity. Daughters were seen throwing themselves into the arms of their unfortunate mothers, and these seizing the soldiers by their beards or hair, in order to hinder them from consummating their horrid purposes. Useless efforts ! All these supplications, and this resistance, served only to irritate the offenders still more. They shamefully abused and tortured their defenceless prisoners, one after the other, and then killed them, before the very eyes of their fathers or husbands, whom they kept securely bound. These, overwhelmed with horror, at the shocking spectacle, had no longer tears to shed, nor any voice for complaint. They contemplated the victims, with a fixed eye, inanimate, like statues. Some mothers, no longer able to endure the sight, tore out their own eyes ;* others retreat-

* A circumstance, so shocking as this, should not be recorded, but on the most undoubted evidence. As the statement now reads, it appears too much like a fictitious embellishment : for, generally speaking, such would hardly ever be the conduct of a mother, on witnessing the horrible sufferings of her daughter. Still, we might possibly imagine such a violence against the senses which carry the awful fact to the soul, in the best days of ancient Rome, in some wo-

ed into subterraneous caverns, where, nobody daring to carry them food, they died, of hunger.

The houses of private persons were not the only places of these abominations ; they were committed even in the holy temples, in the chapels consecrated to God, where married and unmarried women, of all classes, had taken refuge, full of hope of the Divine protection. No human hand could protect them against the danger. They were discovered by the heretics, who were soon joined by the Italians, and experienced the same treatment to which the inmates in the private houses had been subjected.

In the midst of the general stupor, some traits of Roman firmness were nevertheless observed.* Several fathers, with daggers in their hands, preferred to immolate their unhappy daughters, rather than suffer them to fall into the hands of the conquerors ; but, it makes us tremble to say it, they could not, even thus, always protect them against outrage.

The nunneries were no more spared, than the churches. These audacious contemners of objects respected by the faithful† entered, like enraged wolves into a sheepfold, and transformed these sacred retreats into places of

man, of a heroism even then peculiar ; but of modern Rome, and the time of which we are speaking, such a thing is not credible. Nothing is easier than to imagine a mother, who has her hands free, (which, to do what is here recorded, she must have,) falling madly upon him who sacrifices her daughter ; but this putting out her own eyes has something too theatrical in it.

* The reader must have observed, by this and several previous passages, that the author writes in the style of the writers in the fifth, sixth, and later, centuries, always styling the conquerors barbarians, but forgetting that the Romans, for whom, with the same name, there is also claimed an affinity of character to that of the ancient Romans, were far worse. They were, indeed, a cowardly, degenerate, and vicious, set, without patriotism ; without public spirit, of any sort ; without even the common valor of men, who are ashamed of being suspected of cowardice ; and especially destitute, about this period, of the virtue of chastity.

† The faithful, here, means Roman Catholic ; the contemners, Protestants. It will appear from the account of James Bonaparte himself, and is well known by every one who is familiar with the details of those or subsequent wars in the seventeenth century, how indifferent it was, whether the conquerors were Roman Catholic or

outrage. * * * * * * * * Where they found no booty, they fired the houses ; especially, wherever the inhabitants showed the slightest indication of resistance.

It was, as if this magnificent city, the see of the visible chief of the Church, so often the theatre of the most brilliant triumphs, of the glory of the most shining deeds, had for centuries been doomed to become the prey of these savages.

When they had somewhat satiated their thirst for blood, they directed their attention to the immense riches of the sacred places. The Lutherans, who composed a great part of this army, did not consider themselves subject to any species of regard or consideration. Hardly had they set foot into a church, before their bloody hands were stretched out, to grasp the chalices, images, crosses, or precious vessels, which struck their eyes. Whenever they found relics, they threw them contemptuously on the ground. How many of these should we not have lost, if pious Romans, witnesses of these profanations, had not carefully collected these venerable remains, and concealed and carried them away, in order to restore them, at a later period ! They tore the pictures of the saints from the walls, to soil, tear, or burn, them. They defaced the al fresco* paintings ; and some of them went into the sacristies, to dress themselves in the sacerdotal vestments, and, ascending upon the altar, they officiated, by way of derision, like the ministers of our religion ; but, instead of prayers, they uttered blasphemies.†

In the street, one could every moment meet servants of the army, who carried large packages of sacred vestments, or other richly-embroidered articles, chandeliers, and vessels of gold or silver.

Scenes, more deplorable, shocked the eye, in other

Protestant, as respected their treatment of places of worship, and other buildings consecrated to religious purposes.

* *Al fresco paintings* are done on the fresh lime, with which the wall is covered.

† Before the Reformation, fools' masses, so called, used to be celebrated, in which the forms of the whole mass was gone through with, but caricatured with a view to amuse the audience. This shocking abuse took place, in several countries, about Easter.

places. Spaniards and Germans could be seen forcing prisoners of all ages and ranks in society, by blows with sticks, to lead them to their dwellings, which already had been pillaged and ravaged, from the cellar to the garret. They imprisoned them, here, in order to extort more money from them. A great number of inhabitants were lying lifeless on the pavement, covered with mire and blood. They had met with their death, in trying to resist the conquerors. Between them, were lying others, in whom there was yet some life remaining, but who were condemned to perish, forgotten and neglected by all, for want of assistance.

In the midst of disorder, frequently a man, a woman, and a child, were seen, precipitating themselves from the highest windows,—preferring rather to die, thus mutilated, on the pavement, to falling into the hands of these furious troops. Sometimes, the soldiers themselves threw them out. If some wretch succeeded in escaping, he was at once pursued, and slain ; a fate which cannot be recounted, without trembling.

The conquerors showed no more regard for the one party than for the other, and treated their countrymen, who had been, for many years, established in Rome, no better than the Roman courtiers and prelates. They did not even spare the ambassadors of the kings, and still less the cardinals, who, trusting too much to their well-known attachment to the Emperor, and to their rank and popularity, had believed that they might remain without danger, in their palaces, and that they would even be treated with distinction by the enemy. They, with all who had taken refuge in their palaces, in the hope of finding an asylum, were made prisoners.

I will mention, here, one circumstance, which borders on the ludicrous, and which may show the disposition of troops thus transported with fury. While they were running hither and thither, eager only to rob, to destroy, and to kill, and penetrating into stores and workshops, about ten Spaniards had entered a shop of a superior character. Among various packages, a large bag was found, filled with the smallest copper coin, which these criminals,

blinded by cupidity, took for a bag filled with gold. As soon as they had communicated their important discovery to each other, they watched that no one else should enter the same house, who might share in their plunder. They desired to retain their precious booty for themselves, alone. A German company passed in the neighborhood, and perceiving that those who were within would not even allow them to approach the house, they did not doubt, for a moment, that there must be some rich booty, of which the Spaniards declined to allow them a share. Not to lose much time, of the preciousness of which they were fully sensible, they fired at the house, threw powder into it, and set it on fire ; saying, that it was unjust, that the Germans should carry the victory, and the Spaniards should gather the fruits of it. Before they departed, the whole shop was in flames ; and it was entirely consumed, with many who were within,—a just retribution for their insatiable cupidity.

Among the various precious stones, which a prelate, made prisoner by the Germans, had about him, there was a diamond, worth about three or four hundred dollars. One of the soldiers, who tried to pull the ring, in which the diamond was set, from his finger, lost his patience, when a corporal of his company, seeing his difficulties, said, "Wait, I'll get it for thee." Instantly, he drew a knife, cut off the prelate's finger, and handed it to the soldier, who, having pulled off the ring, threw the finger into the face of the Cardinal.*

The fear of the approaching army of the League, alone, caused a diminution of murder and assassination. The Chief gave orders to put a stop to plunder, which immediately ceased, in all parts of the city, and the soldiers retired, to rest themselves, and to enjoy, more composedly, the fruits of rapine.

The Spaniards had left a very strong post at the gates of the castle St. Angelo, to prevent the escape of the Pope and the Cardinals, during the night, with the im-

* It would appear from what Bonaparte has previously stated, that this must have been a cardinal on the Emperor's side, the others being in the castle, with the Pope.

mense riches which they had about them, in the castle. In order to be still more secure of their object, they had given order to some colonels, closely to besiege the castle. These immediately traced trenches, and caused a very deep fosse to be dug. Criminals, whom they had taken out of the prisons, were destined for this work; they were guarded, and driven on in their work, by soldiers. As soon as the trenches were finished, the regular blockade was begun, in so rigorous and cruel a manner, that, one day, the soldiers having found an old woman, who carried lettuce, for the table of the Pope, they hanged her in front of the castle. They likewise killed, with shot from an arquebuse, some children who were gathering herbs and placing them in a basket, which had been let down from the bastions of the castle.

The more elevated and respectable the rank of their prisoners, the more refined and prolonged were the torments they had to endure. Some remained, for several days, suspended by their arms, in the air; others were suspended by their feet, over the water, and threatened that the rope should be cut, if they would not discover their treasures. Many were unmercifully beaten; others burned with a red-hot iron, in various parts of the body. The barbarians invented new tortures; they drove fine splinters under the nails of the fingers or toes; they poured molten lead into the throat; pulled out the teeth of their victims; and, in short, mutilated them, in all possible ways.*

Hieronymus de Camerino, an officer in the household of Cardinal Cibo, had been charged by the Spaniards with a tax, which he could not pay, and to force him, nevertheless, to do it, the most cruel tortures were inflicted upon him. In the midst of them, he succeeded in

* Fanaticism and avarice have been, probably, the most ingenious inventors of tortures; at least, in more modern times. We have only to remember the exquisitely-refined tortures, to which the Spaniards subjected the Indians, from lust for gold, or the means of torturing used in the Thirty Years' War, to force out the confession of hidden treasures. Not uncommon, at that period, was the slowly sawing asunder of the tongue with a horse-hair. The Inquisition comes in, likewise, for a large share in refined ingenuity for the purpose of inflicting pain.

approaching a window, and, seizing upon a favorable moment, he threw himself out, head foremost; and thus, by his death, defeated their cruelty and avarice.

A certain John Ansaldi, a Florentine, had been subjected to excruciating torments, and, to free himself, had promised to his persecutors a thousand dollars. He counted them out, when these barbarians demanded gold ducats. As he had none, they recommenced tormenting him. Incapable any longer of supporting the pain, he threw himself upon his executioner, tore from him the dagger, plunged it into his breast, and then, turning it toward his own, buried it there.

The German foot-soldiers led about, in the streets, Roman prelates, decked with all the ornaments and insignia of their dignity, to expose them to the ridicule of the people. A company of Lutherans, likewise, to mock the ceremonies of the Roman church, carried Cardinal Aracela on a bier, through the streets of Rome, singing, at the same time, the service for the dead. At last, they stopped in front of a church, where, to carry the mockery still further, they pronounced a sort of funeral oration, in which they uttered, instead of praise, revolting obscenities and atrocious calumnies. Thence, they carried him home, and, according to their custom, they rioted, before his own eyes, in brutal orgies, drinking his best wines out of golden vessels, sacred, on account of the church service, for which they had been destined. The same Cardinal was seen entering several houses, behind some German or Spanish horsemen, who thus carried him about, bound, like a mean criminal, in order to borrow the sums demanded for his ransom.

The Cardinal of Sienna, having been, at all times, devoted to the interests of the Emperor, as his ancestors had likewise been, after having bought, from the Spaniards, the safety of his house, fell into the hands of the Germans. These ravaged his palace, beat him and carried him away prisoner, and he was obliged to pay them five thousand dollars, for his ransom. The Cardinal della Minerva,* and the other prelates, whether Ro-

* There is a church in Rome, built upon the foundation of an an-

man, Spanish, or German, were forced to suffer, in like manner, and were likewise dragged in procession through the town, to amuse the populace.

The Marchioness of Mantua was taxed, for her palace, at the rate of fifty thousand dollars, which were paid by merchants and other people, who had taken refuge with her. It has been said, that her son, Don Fernando, an officer in the hostile army, obtained ten thousand dollars of this sum, for his share.

One of our compatriots, Bernard Bracci, had been discovered and arrested by some lighthorse, who conducted him to the bank of a certain German merchant, of the name of Bartholomew, where he went to obtain seven thousand dollars, to the payment of which he had been obliged to consent, in order to escape death. On their way, they met, on the Sixtine bridge, the Marquis della Motta, one of the chiefs of the army, who asked them whither and for what purpose they were carrying off their prisoner. They told him their object, and the sum they had agreed to take, as ransom. "This ransom," said he, "is trifling; throw him instantly into the Tiber, if he does not pay five thousand dollars more, on my account." The soldiers placed their prisoner on their shoulders, to throw him over the bridge; but, in order to save his life, he paid the additional five thousand dollars.

The Spaniards respected the sacred places, and did not touch the relics; but they surpassed the Germans, in cruelty and perfidy. When once the fury of the first shock had passed, the latter did not inflict any additional bad treatment upon their prisoners. They contented themselves with such sums of money, as had been voluntarily offered and paid to them. A large number of them even showed great respect for young and beautiful women, treated them with kindness and humanity, and, in order to remove them from all danger of outrage, caused

cient temple of Minerva, and dedicated to Mary. The church, therefore, is called, St. Maria sopra Minerva. The above Cardinal was probably bishop or priest of this church, and, for brevity's sake, called della Minerva.

them to retire into safe places. Several prisoners, profiting by the good disposition of these Germans, offered to them, as soon as they had fallen into their hands, ransoms, which were very moderate, in proportion to their ability to pay. Their propositions were accepted, without difficulty. This moderation, on the part of the German soldiers, cannot be attributed to the rich booty which they possessed, and which was to be divided among a few, nor to the poverty, which overwhelmed them, at home, and which might have made sums, quite small, in themselves, appear considerable, in their eyes. It proceeded from a greater fund of humanity and equity. The Spaniards, on the contrary, who were quite as poor as the Germans, and perhaps even poorer, did not show, either in the first moment of victory or at a later period, so much moderation, in the pillage, and conducted themselves with far less consideration toward their prisoners.

We have seen these avaricious and cruel enemies, mercilessly glutting their enraged temper by an unbridled violence to all Divine and human things. They would not suffer a single spot in Rome to remain sacred from their rage. Some palaces, nevertheless, had escaped their fury.* Many people had fled to them,—lawyers, merchants, and others,—whom the kindness of some lords, who were able to make themselves respected by the soldiery, had protected against the first impetuosity of the conquerors. However, when the latter were tired of being idle, they assembled to the sound of fifes, drums, and trumpets, and arranged themselves, as though to begin anew the siege of the city. They then furiously attacked these palaces, not caring for the defence which was made, nor for the entreaties nor orders of their superiors, and fired upon their comrades, who defended the

* There is, at the end of the French translation of the Sack of Rome, the copy of a contract, properly drawn up by a notary, for the ransom of one of these palaces. It appears, from the barbarous Latin, in which it is written, that Cardinal de Valle, and other prelates, engaged to pay enormous sums and give up certain specified plate, for which they and above a hundred persons, all enumerated, shall be ransomed. The persons are of the most various professions, trades, sexes, and ages.

palaces, from within. When they were repelled, as frequently happened, they revenged themselves, by setting fire to the houses : upon this, they proceeded to pillage, unless very acceptable propositions were made to them ; that is to say, unless enormous ransoms were paid. Some of those, who had first treated with the Spaniards, were afterwards pressed by the Germans, and again obliged to ransom themselves, or see their houses burned down.

The conquerors obtained so rich a booty, that the crosses, images, and other ornaments of silver, the sculptures, and precious paintings, seized by them, were not estimated at a fourth part of their real value ; and the things which they prized, above all others, were jewelry, and pure gold, which take up but little room. When they sold these objects, they valued the gold only, and asked nothing for the precious stones, which, with infinite art, were set in the metal, and the value of which was much higher than that of the settings. How many statues of marble and bronze, sculptured by the rarest talent, how many medals of emperors, kings, and popes, preserved for many centuries, collected with the greatest pains, going back to early antiquity, and of exquisite workmanship, became, in one moment, the prey of these barbarians ? Not to speak of all the articles of value, which were carried off, the loss is valued at two millions of gold, and the ransoms imposed amount to the same sum.

The German troops, having come with George Franensberg almost in a state of complete nudity, their feet without shoes, their clothes in tatters, and their bodies attenuated by hunger, were suddenly seen superbly dressed, in beautiful garments of brocade, gold-cloth, or silk, decked with the richest chains and magnificent bracelets, and their breasts covered with jewels, of rare beauty. These new lords insolently promenaded through the streets of the city, upon mules, which belonged to the prelates, and amused themselves with imitating the Pope and cardinals. They had, by their sides, their wives or concubines, in embroidered robes, also set with precious stones, and wearing necklaces, taken from the sacred

vessels in which the host is elevated or sacred relics exhibited, or from the mitres or precious vestments and ornaments of the Pope. In their train followed a long suite of lackeys and pages, in fine liveries.

The sumptuous habitations of the cardinals, the most majestic churches, and the chapel of the Pope, had been transformed into stables. Not now were heard, as in times of peace, chants and religious hymns; instead of psalms and choirs, their walls reechoed the oaths and obscenities of the grooms who curried the horses. The crucifixes were riddled with balls; the paintings, half burnt, lay about on the ground, where they and the relics were trampled upon, by men and horses.

This tyranny of the conquerors lasted, not for days, nor weeks, but whole months; and, as if the guilty inhabitants of Rome were not yet sufficiently chastised, God added still another calamity. These foreign troops were stricken with such blindness, and impelled by so short-sighted a malignity, that they continually committed violence against those who carried provisions into town, for the market. Soon, therefore, nobody dared any longer to go to the city, which, of course, remained without sufficient food. The soldiers knew no longer where they should find any thing to eat. The stores in Rome as well as in the country were exhausted. After having eaten the horses, asses, dogs, cats, and even rats, which could be caught in the houses, the lowest classes were constrained to live upon roots, herbs, and other things, which, although they may be masticated, afford hardly any sustenance. The people of this class soon ceased to resemble men, but looked like phantoms or living skeletons. The hunger, which devoured them, created a great mortality among them, and this, in turn, caused a plague. There was not a street in Rome, which was not encumbered with those, dead or dying of pestilence, and with others, who, with the little strength yet remaining in them, implored death to put an end to their sufferings. The contagion soon passed from the people to the soldiers; it advanced from house to house, from street to street. Its rapidity may be compared to those artificial

fires, used to celebrate public festivals, when a single spark, in falling upon the powder, suffices to set the whole on fire, and all the single parts of which soon catch the consuming flame, one from the other.*

In the midst of these cries and tears, of these fires, and incessant devastations by death, I shall endeavor to describe the situation of the Pontiff. He was sufficiently humbled, by the difference of his past grandeur and his present low condition. How often did he turn his eyes, full of tears, toward heaven! He beat his breast, while exclaiming: "Deus meus in te speravi; salvum me fac ex omnibus persequentibus me, et libera me."†

A long time after the taking and sacking of the city, Pompey Colonna‡ arrived, and seemed much to enjoy the wretched extremity to which the Pope was reduced. Nevertheless, when he came to see destruction and death, every where; when he heard weeping and sighing, on all sides; and when he met, in every street, children, ladies, prelates, and noble citizens, imploring assistance and calling out for compassion; he was, in turn, affected by the most painful sentiments. He could not, at the sight of all the miseries of the city and the environs, restrain his tears; and his grief became the more acute, when he considered that it was himself who had caused the ruin of his country, without having succeeded in overthrowing the power of his enemy, who was then in safety in the castle St. Angelo. He could not but see, that he himself, the instigator of this invasion, had merited that all these evils should have broken in upon him, rather than

* It must be remembered, that these *feux de joie*, or artificial fireworks, were then something new and rare; the comparison, otherwise not appropriate, may thus be excused.

† The seventh Psalm, beginning, in the English translation, "O Lord! my God, in Thee do I put my trust; save me from all them that persecute me, and deliver me."

‡ *Pompey Colonna* was cardinal, but did not resign his military character on account of his ecclesiastic dignity. He repeatedly revolted against the Pope; and, in 1527, coöperated with the Imperialists. Still, when Pope Clement the Seventh was a prisoner of the Emperor, he zealously strove to obtain that Pontiff's liberty, who, in gratitude, restored him to the cardinalship, of which he had been deprived.

upon these doomed Romans, whom they had overwhelmed. He was of a generous and compassionate nature, and instantly opened his house to the unfortunate inhabitants. He possessed much influence over the officers and soldiers of the army; he made use of it, to protect the honor of the women, to prevent the repeated vexations to which the citizens had been exposed, and to lower the ransoms exacted from the prisoners. He actually performed these services, with so much good will, zeal, and humanity, that, within a short time, all the rooms of his palace, from the cellar to the roof, were filled with poor women and noble ladies, snatched from the hands of the soldiers, to whom their ransom had been paid, either by themselves or by him. The Cardinal likewise gave an asylum to the other cardinals, who, after having been abused and ill-treated by the soldiery, owed their safety and delivery to him. He smoothed the difficulties between the soldiers and the prisoners, by exhausting his own purse; and he hastened to the assistance of all those, whose life he understood to be in danger. It may even be said, that no unfortunate man implored his assistance in vain. He forgot hatred and resentment, and assisted individuals, formerly his enemies, from whom he had been estranged, on account of political differences, or for more weighty reasons. A lady and her daughter, of the noble family of Santa Croce, owed to him their ransom from the grasp of the enemy. It was only in one instance that Pompey Colonna could not resist his feeling of revenge,—when he gave orders to burn the vineyard of the Pope, at the foot of Mount Marius, near Ponte-Molle. Clement the Seventh, espying the fire, from the top of the castle, turned round to the Cardinals, and said: "Pompey is paying me a debt. I have caused his castles in the champagne of Rome to be burnt; he is now trying to repay me." This sight gave the Pope much pain, it is true; nevertheless, he did not throw the blame upon the Cardinal.*

* Historical criticism must ascertain, if it can be done, whether there is much truth in these remarks, or whether James Bonaparte, perhaps unconsciously, made the most of a few instances of aid af-

The life which the Pontiff led, in the fort St. Angelo, was at all times exceedingly painful. But it became still more so, when he saw the provisions, of which, nevertheless, only the most necessary portion was daily consumed, fast approaching their end. In spite of their repugnance, he and the cardinals were obliged to eat asses' flesh. In this impossibility of holding out any longer, on account of want of food, he proposed to surrender, on the following conditions :

He was willing to subscribe, in anticipation, to the desires of the Emperor, which he felt pleasure in supposing to be benevolent, equitable, and worthy of a son of the Church : he would discharge the arrears of pay to the Imperial soldiers, for which, liberty and his dominions should be restored to him. He immediately caused the sacred vessels of gold and silver, which he had succeeded in carrying along with him, to be melted down, and money to be coined from the metal. In this way, he realized three hundred thousand dollars, which were, however, insufficient to satisfy the superior officers, and still less the whole body of soldiers.

The situation of the Pontiff, closely besieged in his fort, became, as we have seen, more and more critical. To fill the measure of evil, the pestilence broke out among his people. Pompey, urged by some cardinals who were friendly toward him, resolved on paying a visit to the Pope. His Holiness said to the cardinals, near him, that he hoped no longer for any relief, from without ; that there was no hope, except in the lance of Achilles. He thus designated Cardinal Colonna, who, having brought all this misery upon the city, was more able than any one else, to find the proper means to avert its further

forded by Cardinal Colonna. For Bonaparte wrote, perhaps, when the Cardinal was already reconciled to the Pope, or was on the point of being so ; and the pen of one of the household officers of a pope may easily have been guided, in some degree, by the respect due from him to a person so eminent in the Church, and so powerful, from his connexion with one of the proudest and most elevated of the baronial families. Nevertheless, the freedom with which he writes, respecting other subjects, in subsequent passages, inclines us to give credence to these remarks.

duration. When Colonna arrived at the castle, the Holy Father received him extremely well; probably also without covert thoughts. Both began to weep at the disasters which were devastating their country, at the disgrace into which the sacerdotal dignity had fallen, and, above all, at their own respective folly, which, filling their souls with a fury, unworthy of persons clothed with a sacred character, had attracted the foreign enemy to the heart of their country, and ended with breaking down the establishment consecrated to God. They agreed upon the means by which Clement the Seventh should be restored to liberty. Pompey having promised to use his influence with the ministers of the Emperor, in order to obtain the Pope's delivery, received the Papal benediction, and departed.

The Pope, nevertheless, did not neglect other means, by which he might better his situation. He sent a legate to King Francis the First,* and another to Henry, King of England. The King of France, it was said, was about sending Lautrec,† a gallant captain, at the head of a goodly army, in order to revenge the insults which had been heaped upon the chief of the Church. Clement, moreover, sent letters and negotiators to the Emperor. But the soldiers, and especially the Germans, showed an inflexible obduracy; they would not listen to any arrangement, unless, before all, their arrears were duly paid. The Emperor found this demand perfectly reasonable. He charged his envoy, Brother Angioli, to communicate his intentions to the chiefs of the army. The Pope should reenter into the plenitude of his rights; the holiness of his dignity demanded respect; but he should provide for the means of satisfying the Imperial troops; and they should not retire, without proper hostages. By means of this precaution, the Pope would find himself incapable to do much harm to the Emperor, should he be disposed to resent the injuries received at the hands of this Prince.

* King of France.

† *Lautrec*, or *Lutrec*, was one of the most distinguished captains of this age, commanding the troops of the League.

When Clement was informed of these conditions, they seemed to him excessively hard. He was at the mercy of the foreigners, and thus it was impossible for him to collect as much money as was demanded of him. What credit with the soldiers or merchants could he, imprisoned as he was, count upon? In his present situation, he could inspire no confidence, because the promises which he would make, in order to be freed from it, would be without guarantee. The validity of the obligations and of the pledges, consented to in prison, might be impugned and destroyed by the fact, that these acts had been stipulated, not by a free agent, but by a person in a state of coercion. The Germans, in particular, obstinately refused to accept of the notes of bankers. Not content with so much booty, amassed in the city which they had sacked, they threatened to put the whole garrison of the castle to the sword, and to commence with the Pope and cardinals, if the sums demanded were not instantly paid down.

There was no means left of evading the difficulty. The Pope was obliged to give sureties for the acquittance of the contribution of war, and to hand over to the Germans his four most beloved and most devoted friends, the two Bishops of Pistoja and Verona, and the two Archbishops of Siponte and Pisa. To these hostages, he added two of his near relations, James Salviati and Lawrence Ridolfi, renowned for their opulence and high nobility. When the Germans had these six personages in their power, they made them instantly feel the effects of their cupidity. They threatened and terrified the hostages, in all sorts of ways, in order to obtain the gold which was demanded; yet, with whatever zeal the captives proceeded, and however anxious the Pope and the bankers were to acquit themselves, they were unable to succeed in realizing the sum agreed upon. The enraged soldiers now put their hostages in chains, like vile criminals, and caused them to be led to the Campo di Fiori,* where they placed them under gibbets, and had piquets ready to ex-

* Flower market.

ecute them. Had the people or the other soldiers made the slightest stir in their favor, they would have been lost: their fate was decided. Three times they were conducted, pale and trembling, to the very spot of execution; three times were they saved by their prayers, tears, and, above all, by promises to acquit themselves, if but a short delay were granted them. They obtained the reprieve demanded; it was a triumph over cruelty, gained by cupidity, all the hopes of which would have been destroyed by their death.

The captives went about, knocking at every door, in order to collect the necessary sum, while their friends made sure of their safety, by other means. Their guards were corrupted, by an excellent repast, and plied with wines drugged with opium. These soldiers, occupied only with doing honor to the wine and the savory dainties, soon fell into a profound sleep, which the discharge of artillery could not have interrupted. This was the moment waited for by the friends of the hostages. So soon as they observed that the wines had done their work, they entered the rooms where the hostages were in chains. They loosed their fetters, and, by means of cords, made them ascend through the chimney, upon the roof, from which, with proper assistance, the fugitives arrived, in the greatest secrecy, at the gates of Rome, whence they passed, without harm, to the camp of the Duke of Urbino, at this time stationed in Umbria. In this manner, they saved, at once, their fortunes and their lives. Their unexpected and surprising flight hastened the delivery of the Pope. His situation, however, was not immediately bettered. The German soldiers insisted only with the more urgency upon the necessity of paying them off, as the condition of his enlargement. He tried, therefore, every possible means of getting money, but none showed any hope of success, except only one, and that was, to sell some cardinals' hats to the highest bidder. There were, among the partisans of the Emperor, some who aspired to this dignity, and who paid the money down. By this means, the Pope succeeded, at length, in obtaining the requisite sum. Surely, this expedient was neith-

er honest nor delicate ; but, in this cruel difficulty, he was at a loss what else to do, in order to calm the impatience and cupidity of the soldiers.

The corruption of the corpses, abandoned, without burial, in the public squares, the infectious odor of the sewers, the incessant changes of temperature, and the want of suitable nourishment, had engendered the pestilence, which we have already mentioned. This malady had carried off a great many soldiers, among whom were observed several of those who had most contributed to the devastation of the convents.

As soon as the soldiers had been paid, news was received of the advantages gained by Lautrec, general of the French army. The German and Spanish troops, whose ranks were found much thinned, by death, showed now much more inclination to peace, and allowed themselves to be persuaded by their chiefs to return under their authority, and to follow them, wherever the service of the Emperor should require.

The Pope, desirous of proving his good disposition respecting the army, and the attachment which he had always retained for the Emperor, engaged himself to place in their power, five cardinals of their own selection, as hostages. They chose three, of Venice, Milan, and Florence, whose relations were attached to the opposite party ; Cardinal Pompey selected two of Rome. He carried them to one of his country residences, where he treated them with the greatest respect and perfect courtesy. He made earnest endeavors to keep the pledge which he had given to the Holy Father to strive to regulate the conventions with the agents of the Emperor, relative to the total evacuation of the territory of Rome. The Pope had completely succeeded in drawing him into his own interests, by means of brilliant promises. Pompey used his whole influence with the Imperial ministers, to induce them not to exact the rigorous conditions, dictated by the Emperor, to their whole extent. They did not immediately yield ; nevertheless, they at last complied. This negotiation was conducted with much ability by the Cardinal, because Don Hugh,

a man without faith and of sinister views, had retired to Naples with his troops, and the Prince of Orange had quartered his, in the barracks.

Clement was enlarged, after a siege of seven months, as soon as the peace was concluded. He had announced his resolution to leave the castle St. Angelo within three days ; yet he succeeded in escaping, during the night, without the knowledge of the sentinels. He took the precaution of covering his head with a slouched hat, of putting on a common dress, and disguising his face with a long beard. Thus disguised, he passed as one of the servants belonging to the department of the grand-master of the Papal household. He carried a basket under his arm, and a dorsel and some empty sacks on his back. To the inquiries of the sentinels he answered, that he was sent in advance, to prepare lodgings on the route, which the Pope was to take, in travelling with the cardinals to Viterbo, and that he was to procure provisions for them. Thus he succeeded in leaving the castle, and escaping out of Rome, through a secret gate, made in the corner of the wall which encloses the garden of St. Peter, and the keys of which he had obtained, the evening before, from the chief gardener. Here, he stepped into a carriage kept ready for him, by Lewis de Gonzagua, before mentioned, whose younger brother the Pope had made cardinal. Accompanied by a single peasant, he passed, by night, through Celano, and the forest of Boccano, took some refreshment at Capranica, and arrived, by a road cut through the rocks, at Orvieto, a fortified place.

The next morning, some colonels went to the castle, to pay their court to the Pope. They knew that he heard mass, every morning, in the chapel, and therefore waited some time for him. Part of the day had already elapsed, yet he did not make his appearance. They then inquired of the body-servants, whether His Holiness did not mean to rise ; that the day was far advanced, and that, for the journey he meant to undertake, it would be convenient to start in time, because the road was bad and the Winter days very short. The lackeys knew

nothing. However, this long delay began to appear somewhat suspicious to the colonels; and, at length, they learned that the Pope had deceived them. Indeed, in these disastrous events, he had become acquainted with their character, and had come to the conclusion, that it was best to trust them as little as possible. The Pope, arriving at Orvieto, at the moment when he was least expected, was perfectly well received by the inhabitants, and received visits from a multitude of distinguished persons, who went to congratulate him upon the recovery of his liberty. He remained here, until he had concluded the peace with his majesty the Emperor, Charles the Fifth.

Such was the end of the sack, which the unhappy city of Rome had to sustain. After the departure of the Pope, the officers and soldiers, laden with booty, took the road for Naples, whither they were sent by diverse routes, in order to arrest the rapid progress daily making by Lautrec, general of the King of France.

HENRY VIII., KING OF ENGLAND, AND CATHARINE OF ARRAGON, HIS QUEEN, BEFORE THE LEGATINE COURT, CONSISTING OF CARDINALS WOLSEY AND CAMPEGGIO, IN 1527.

BY GEORGE CAVENDISH.

George Cavendish was gentleman usher* to Cardinal Wolsey. He was a faithful attendant to this princely prelate, not only in the days of triumphant fortune, but also in his master's banishment and adversity, until the hour when he performed for his once powerful patron the last sad offices of humanity. After that, he sat down, in his retirement, to write a faithful picture, as he, no doubt, believed it was, of the man who so long wielded, in the name of Henry VIII., the highest power over England. Cavendish seems to have written his life of Wolsey, with great regard to truth, frequently stating facts, which leave upon the reader an impression, very different from the spirit in which the author gives them. Among these latter, I count the relation of the closing scenes of Wolsey's life. This, Cavendish plainly gives, as an evidence of the meekness of that fallen man ; but it can hardly fail to leave upon our minds, at this distance of time, and disconnected, as we now are, from all personal interest, a different, and a most painful impression. For we see a man, highly endowed by Nature, utterly wretched and despairing, because he had lost one solitary thing, in which he had bound up his whole existence, and which was the very breath of his life,—the sunshine of royal favor. Without fortitude, without the dignity and consciousness of worth, we see him, like a drowning man, whom a buoyant wave lifts once more above his destined grave, catching at every straw which the fatal element chances to carry near him, or which his eager fancy imagines to be floating before his eyes. We cannot withhold our commiseration from the victim of a monarch like Henry ; and this, the rather, perhaps, that we see him still more the victim of his own unhappy error. He has

* An officer who has the care of a court, hall, chamber, or the like, and introduces visiters.

placed his whole dependence upon something, over which he has no final control, and which has now failed him, not upon that, which is within him, and of which he cannot be robbed, even by the mightiest. Shakspeare, in his Henry VIII., does not allow the Cardinal to sink so low. And he is right ; for it is the duty of the poet, to restore the hearer's mind to a calmness, though tinged with melancholy, yet superior to the thrilling pains and anxious interest, which may have been excited in the course of the play. This necessary object of poetry would not, it seems, have been attained, had Shakspeare allowed the proud prelate not only to fall from his towering height, but to sink within himself, so wretchedly low, stripped of all dignity of mind, a writhing insect, in which we see nothing but unalleviated pain. On the other hand, it is well known, that this greatest of poets has, in that drama, embodied, almost literally, several passages contained in Cavendish's Life of Wolsey. This composition was first printed in 1641. A corrected edition, from an autograph manuscript, was published in 1825, under the title,—'The Life of Cardinal Wolsey, by George Cavendish, his Gentleman Usher. And Metrical Visions, from the original autograph Manuscript, &c. By Samuel Weller Singer.' From this edition, pages 144 to 166, the subjoined extract is taken.

Henry VIII., born in the year 1491, succeeded his father, in 1509. A few months after, he married Catharine, daughter of Ferdinand of Arragon and Isabella of Castile. Catharine was the widow of Prince Arthur, the elder brother of Henry. Pope Julius II. had granted a dispensation,* for the marriage of Henry with his brother's widow, which dispensation had been in England six years, before it was used. Henry VIII. was a tyrant of the worst kind. There are two classes of tyrants ;—some, filled, indeed, with, and not hesitating to demand any sacrifice to, a grasping ambition, do still, in their own hearts, acknowledge the idea of the State, as the sovereign idea of their lives. They consider themselves, it is true, as having so close a personal connexion with the State, that they are ready to demand any sacrifice to themselves, as a sacrifice to the State ; but they are likewise ready to

* Or exemption from the law of the Church, which prohibited a man from marrying the widow of his brother.

make personal sacrifices, to this, their highest idea,—the glory and the power of the State. There are other tyrants, of a coarse stamp, who cannot elevate themselves so high ; their minds are circumscribed and wrapped up in gross and narrow selfishness. To this class, unfortunately, Henry belonged. His ideas of power in the King, of obedience in the subject, of government of State,—every thing, in short, was gross. In religion, he did not elevate himself above scholastic questions of theology ; nor in morals, above casuistical formalities. In foreign policy, he did not penetrate, through pomp and ceremonial, to the essence ; in domestic politics, the increase of his own wealth, and the mere acquisition of power, formed the ends of government. Nowhere do we see him, with judgement and perseverance, plan, develope, sow, and cultivate ; every where, we find him hastily breaking down and destroying. Such a monarch, sufficiently selfish to trample down any thing that might be in his way, and so coarse, as to regard only the *persons* of his opponents, and to be content with removing them by the axe, without aiming to overcome the *principle* of opposition, was, from this very grossness, utterly unable to prescribe a lofty and firm course for himself, after he had broken down all the barriers, which had opposed, or torn the ties which had restrained, him. We can perceive, in Henry, none of that strength of character and distinctness of purpose, which was so prominent in his illustrious daughter, Elizabeth ;—but only the vehemence of coarse passion. A man of this unhappy constitution, at a time when the Reformation necessarily loosened so many ties,—a time which was

"Sad, high, and working, full of state and wo,"

could not but do incalculable mischief to his country, and infinite injury to the cause, which, with the wavering caprice of an arrogant mind, he half opposed, half supported.

Henry, having now lived, for eighteen years, in perfect harmony with Queen Catharine, a pious, gentle, and excellent lady, pretended to feel compunction of conscience, on account of his marriage with his brother's widow ; a connexion prohibited by the law of Moses. The reader must consult the history of England, for the details of this affair ; suffice it here to say, that any real compunction, on the part of Henry, is rendered incredible, by the fact, that he made no serious manifestation of it, before he was

in love with Anne Boleyn, a lady attached to Catharine's court ; by his hasty marriage with her, immediately after the divorce had been pronounced ; and by his subsequent behavior toward his wives. Henry was one of those men, whose selfishness will not suffer their desires to be thwarted, but who have not sufficient strength of mind to break, at once, through all forms, and who endeavor to appease their own conscience by continuing the observance of forms, as long as possible. He was anxious that the Pope should pronounce his marriage null and void, as inconsistent with the law of God. After repeated importunate petitions to this effect, the Pope agreed to send to England a cardinal, who, together with Cardinal Wolsey, should form a legatine court, before which, the validity of Henry's marriage might be tried. Henry, in whom selfishness, and that, too, of a most unrefined character, formed so prominent a trait, could never raise himself to the feelings of a gentleman ; and he, who adored the idol of his own power, nevertheless, allowed himself and his wife to be cited to appear in court, in his own kingdom. Should the court pronounce that judgement, which he so ardently desired, he would not only publicly thrust a faithful and virtuous companion from him, and offend her nephew, the Emperor Charles V., but would declare his own daughter the issue of an illegitimate union. In this respect, the trial was, in the highest degree, scandalous. In regard to Henry, who evidently had made up his mind, it was a farce. But we must consider it, also, with reference to Catharine. The daughter of two renowned monarchs, a pious and innocent woman, alone, in a country which had not given her birth, she is dragged into open court, where her king and husband, aided by obsequious courtiers, makes wicked mockery of conscience and religion. She is a mother, a royal mother, whose offspring is to be declared illegitimate ; a wife, about to be repudiated by the husband whom she had faithfully loved and obeyed ; a Queen, from whose innocent head a crown is to be plucked, to be placed upon other and younger brows. She is a woman, of an age which does not, of itself, usually inspire a tender interest, yet young enough, to feel all the pangs, caused by the prospect of a long, dishonored life ; a devout and confiding Christian, who sees the most sacred forms of religion shamelessly turned against her. When we consider the trial in these respects, it forms a tragedy of the saddest interest.

Long was the desire, and greater was the hope, on all sides, expecting the coming of the legation and commission from Rome; yet, at length, it came. And after the arrival of the Legate Campeggio, with this solemn commission, in England, he, being sore vexed with the gout, was constrained, by force thereof, to make a long journey, before he came to London. He should have been most solemnly received at Blackheath, and so with great triumph conveyed to London; but his glory was such, that he would in nowise be entertained with any such pomp or vain glory; and he suddenly came, by water, in a wherry, to his own house, without Temple Bar, (called, then, Bath Place,) which was furnished for him with all manner of stuff and implements, of my lord's provision,* where he continued and lodged, during his abode here in England.

Then, after some deliberation, his commission understood, read, and perceived, it was by the council determined, that the King, and the Queen his wife, should be lodged at Bridewell. And that in the Black Friars, a certain place should be appointed, where the King and the Queen might most conveniently repair to the court, there to be erected and kept for the disputation and determination of the King's case, where these two legates sat in judgement, as notable judges; before whom the King and the Queen were duly cited and summoned to appear. Which was the strangest and newest sight and device that ever was read or heard, in any history or chronicle, in any region; that a King and a Queen [should] be convented† and constrained, by process compellatory‡ to appear in any court, as common persons, within their own realm or dominion, to abide the judgement and decrees of their own subjects, having the royal diadem and prerogative thereof.....

Ye shall understand, as I said before, that there was a court erected in the Black Friars, in London, where these

* That is, of Cardinal Wolsey's.

† *Convented*,—called before a judge, or court of law.

‡ *Compellatory*,—having the force of compelling, compulsatory.

two cardinals sat for judges. Now will I set you out the manner and order of the court, there. First, there was a court placed with tables, benches, and bars, like a consistory, a place judicial, (for the judges to sit on.) There was also a cloth of estate, under the which sat the King; and the Queen sat, some distance beneath the King. Under the judges' feet, sat the officers of the court. The chief scribe, there, was Dr. Stephens,* (who was, after, Bishop of Winchester;) the apparitor† was one Cooke, most commonly called Cooke of Winchester. Then set, there, within the said court, directly before the King and the judges, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Doctor Warham, and all the other bishops. Then, at both the ends, with a bar made for them, the counsellors on both sides. The doctors for the King were Doctor Sampson, that was, after, Bishop of Chichester, and Doctor Bell, who after was Bishop of Worcester, with divers other. The proctors on the King's part were Doctor Peter, who was after made the King's chief secretary, and Doctor Tregonell, and divers other.

Now, on the other side, stood the counsel for the Queen, Doctor Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Doctor Standish, sometime a Gray Friar, and then Bishop of St. Asaph, in Wales, two notable clerks in divinity, and, in especial, the Bishop of Rochester, a very godly man, and a devout person, who after suffered death at Tower Hill; the which was greatly lamented through all the foreign Universities of Christendom. There was also another ancient doctor, called, as I remember, Doctor Ridley, a very small person in stature, but surely a great and excellent clerk in divinity.

The court being thus furnished and ordered, the judges commanded the crier to proclaim silence. Then was the judges' commission, which they had of the Pope, published, and read, openly, before the audience there assembled. That done, the crier called the King by the name of "King Henry of England! come into the

* Dr. Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester.

† The lowest officer of an ecclesiastical court, a summoner.

court," &c. With that, the King answered and said, "Here, my lords!" Then he called also the Queen, by the name of "Catharine, Queen of England, come into the court," &c., who made no answer to the same, but rose up incontinent* out of her chair, where she sat; and, because she could not come directly to the King, for the distance which severed them, she took pains to go about unto the King, kneeling down at his feet, in the sight of all the court and assembly, to whom she said, in effect, in broken English, as followeth:†

"Sir," quoth she, "I beseech you, for all the love that hath been between us, and for the love of God, let me have justice and right; take of me some pity, and compassion, for I am a poor woman and a stranger, born out of your dominion. I have, here, no assured friend, and much less indifferent counsel. I flee to you, as to the head of justice within this realm. Alas! Sir, wherein have I offended you, or what occasion of displeasure [have I given you?] Have I designed against your will and pleasure; intending (as I perceive) to put me from you? I take God, and all the world, to witness, that I have been to you a true, humble, and obedient wife, ever conformable to your will and pleasure, that never said nor did any thing to the contrary thereof, being always well pleased and contented with all things wherein you had any delight or dalliance; whether it were in little or much, I never grudged, in word or countenance, or showed a visage or spark of discontent. I loved all those whom ye loved, only for your sake, whether I had cause or no; and whether they were my friends or my enemies. This twenty years, or more, I have been your true wife, and by me ye have had divers children, although it hath pleased God to call them out of this world, which hath been no default in me.

"And when ye had me, at the first, I take God to be

* Immediately.

† Some have denied the fact, that the King and Queen were present at the trial; for instance, Bishop Burnet, in his History of the Reformation, Vol. III. pp. 46–48; but it seems to be now well established, by several concurrent proofs, that those high personages did actually appear.

my judge, I was a true maid ; and, whether it be true or no, I put it to your conscience. If there be any just cause, by the law, that ye can allege against me, either of dishonesty, or any other impediment, to banish and put me away from you, I am well content to depart, to my great shame and dishonor ; and, if there be none, then here I most lowly beseech you, let me remain in my former estate, and receive justice at your hands. The King, your father, was, in the time of his reign, of such estimation, throughout the world, for his excellent wisdom, that he was accounted and called, of all men, the second Solomon ; and my father, Ferdinand, King of Spain, who was esteemed to be one of the wittiest princes that reigned in Spain, many years before, were both wise and excellent kings in wisdom and princely behavior. It is not, therefore, to be doubted, but that they elected and gathered as wise counsellors about them, as to their high discretions was thought meet. Also, as me seemeth, there was, in those days, as wise, as well learned, men, and men of as good judgement, as be, at this present, in both realms, who thought, then, the marriage between you and me good and lawful. Therefore, it is a wonder to hear what new inventions are now invented against me, (that never intended but honesty,) and cause me to stand to the order and judgement of this new court, wherein ye may do me much wrong, if ye intend any cruelty ; for ye may condemn me for lack of sufficient answer, having no indifferent counsel but such as be assigned me, with whose wisdom and learning I am not acquainted. Ye must consider, that they cannot be indifferent counsellors for my part, which be your subjects, and taken out of your own council, before, wherein they be made privy, and dare not, for your displeasure, disobey your will and intent, being once made privy thereto. Therefore, I most humbly require you, in the way of charity, and for the love of God, who is the just Judge, to spare me the extremity of this new court, until I may be advertised what way and order my friends in Spain will advise me to take. And if ye will not extend to me so much indifferent favor, your pleasure then be fulfilled, and to God I commit my cause !"

And with that, she rose up, making a low courtesy to the King, and so departed thence. [Many] supposed that she would have resorted again to her former place; but she took her way straight out of the house, leaning (as she was wont always to do) upon the arm of her General Receiver, called Master Griffith. And the King, being advertised of her departure, commanded the crier to call her again, who called her by the name of "Catherine, Queen of England, come into court," &c. With that, quoth Master Griffith, "*Madam, ye be called again.*" "On, on," quoth she, "it maketh no matter, for it is no indifferent court for me; therefore, I will not tarry. Go on your ways." And thus she departed out of that court, without any further answer at that time, or at any other, nor would ever appear at any other court, after.

The King, perceiving that she was departed in such sort, calling to his Grace's memory all her lamentable words, that she had pronounced before him and all the audience, said thus, in effect: "Forasmuch as the Queen is gone, I will, in her absence, declare unto you all, my lords, here presently assembled, she hath been to me as true, as obedient, and as comfortable, a wife, as I could, in my fantasy, wish or desire. She hath all the virtuous qualities that ought to be in a woman of her dignity, or in any other, of baser estate. Surely, she is also a noble woman born, if nothing were in her, but only her conditions, [they] will well declare the same." With that, quoth my Lord Cardinal, "Sir, I most humbly beseech your highness to declare me before all this audience, whether I have been the chief inventor or first mover of this matter unto your majesty; for I am greatly suspected of all men herein." "My Lord Cardinal," quoth the King, "I can well excuse you herein. Marry, ye have been rather against me, in attempting or setting forth thereof. And to put you all out of doubt, I will declare unto you the special cause that moved me hereunto; it was a certain scrupulosity that pricked my conscience, upon divers words that were spoken,* at a certain time, by the Bishop of Bay-

* Nothing of this kind is to be found in the Journal of this embassy, nor in the letters of the Bishop and his companions, which have been

onne, the French King's Ambassador, who had been here long upon the debating, for the conclusion of a marriage to be concluded between the princess, our daughter Mary, and the Duke of Orleans, the French King's second son.

"And upon the resolution and determination thereof, he desired respite, to advertise the King his master thereof, whether our daughter Mary should be legitimate, in respect of the marriage which was sometime between the Queen here, and my brother, the late Prince Arthur. These words were so conceived within my scrupulous conscience, that it bred a doubt within my breast, which doubt pricked, vexed, and troubled so my mind, and so disquieted me, that I was in great doubt of God's indignation; which (as seemed me) appeared right well; much the rather, for that he hath not sent me any issue male; for all such issue male as I have received of the Queen, died incontinent* after they were born; so that I doubt the punishment of God in that behalf. Thus, being troubled in waves of a scrupulous conscience, and partly in despair of any issue male by her, it drave me, at last, to consider the estate of this realm, and the danger it stood in, for lack of issue male to succeed me in this imperial dignity. I thought it good, therefore, in relief of the weighty burden of scrupulous conscience, and the quiet estate of this noble realm, to attempt the law therein, and whether I might take any wife, in case that my first marriage with this gentlewoman were not lawful; which I intend not for any displeasure or mislike of the Queen's person or age, with whom I could be as well content to continue, during my life, if our marriage may stand with God's laws, as with any woman alive; in which point, consisteth all this doubt, that we go now about to try, by the learned wisdom and judgement of you, our prelates and pastors of this realm, here assembled for that purpose; to whose conscience and judgement, I have committed

preserved, and many of which have been published by *Le Grand, Histoire du Divorce de Henri VIII.—Note of the English Editor.*

* Immediately.

the charge, according to the which, (God willing,) we will be right well contented to submit ourself, to obey the same, for our part. Wherein, after I once perceived my conscience wounded with the doubtful case herein, I moved, first, this matter in confession to you, my Lord of Lincoln,* my ghostly father. And, forasmuch as then yourself were in some doubt to give me counsel, moved me to ask further counsel of all you, my lords; wherein I moved you, first, my Lord of Canterbury, asking your license, (forasmuch as you were our Metropolitan,) to put this matter in question; and so I did of all you, my lords, to the which ye have all granted, by writing, under all your seals, the which I have here to be showed." "That is truth, if it please your highness," quoth the Archbishop of Canterbury; "I doubt not, but all my brethren, here present, will affirm the same." "No, Sire, not I," quoth the Bishop of Rochester; "ye have not my consent thereto." "No?" quoth the King, "look here, upon this, is not this your hand and seal?" and showed him the instrument with seals. "No, forsooth, Sire," quoth the Bishop of Rochester, "it is not my hand nor seal!" To that, quoth the King to my Lord of Canterbury, "Sir, how say ye, is it not his hand and seal?" "Yes, Sire," quoth my Lord of Canterbury. "That is not so," quoth the Bishop of Rochester, "for indeed you were in hand with me, to have both my hand and seal, as other of my lords had already done; but then I said to you, that I would never consent to no such act, for it were much against my conscience; nor my hand and seal should never be seen at any such instrument, God willing, with much more matter, touching the same communication, between us." "You say truth," quoth the Archbishop of Canterbury, "such words ye said unto me; but, at the last, ye were fully persuaded, that I should for you subscribe your name, and put a seal myself, and ye would allow the same." "All which words and matter," quoth the Bishop of Rochester, "under your correction, my lord, and supportation† of this noble audience, there is

* Wolsey was Bishop of Lincoln.

† Support.

no thing more untrue." "Well, well," quoth the King, "it shall make no matter, we will not stand with you in argument herein, for you are but one man." And with that, the court was adjourned until the next day of this session.

The next court day, the cardinals sat there, again, at which time, the counsel, on both sides, were there present. The King's counsel alleged the marriage not good, from the beginning, because of the marriage between Prince Arthur, her first husband, the King's brother, and her. This matter being very sore touched and maintained by the King's counsel; and the contrary defended by such as took upon them to be on that other part, with the good Queen. It was answered again, negatively, on the other side, by which it seemed, that all their former allegations [were] very doubtful to be tried, so that it was said, that no man could know the truth. "Yes," quoth the Bishop of Rochester, "*Ego nosco veritatem;*" [I know the truth.] "How know you the truth?" quoth my Lord Cardinal. "Forsooth, my lord," quoth he, "*Ego sum professor veritatis;* [I am a professor of the truth.] I know that God is truth itself, nor He never spake but truth; who saith, '*quos Deus conjunxit, homo non separet;*' [whom God hath joined, let no man put asunder.] And forasmuch as this marriage was made and joined by God, to a good intent, I say, that I know the truth; the which cannot be broken or loosed by the power of man, upon no feigned occasion." "So much, doth all faithful men know," quoth my Lord Cardinal, "as well as you. Yet this reason is not sufficient in this case; for the King's counsel doth allege divers presumptions, to prove the marriage not good at the beginning, *ergo*, [consequently,] say they, it was not joined by God, at the beginning, and therefore, it is not lawful; for God ordaineth nor joineth nothing without a just order. Therefore, it is not to be doubted, but that these presumptions must be true, as it plainly appeareth; and nothing can be more true, in case these allegations cannot be avoided; therefore, to say that the matrimony was joined of God, ye must prove it, further than by that text which ye have alleged for your mat-

ter; for ye must first avoid the presumptions." "Then," quoth Dr. Ridley, "it is a shame, and a great dishonor to this honorable presence, that any such presumptions should be alleged, in this open court, which be, to all good and honest men, most detestable to be rehearsed." "What!" quoth my Lord Cardinal, "*Domine Doctor, magis reverenter;*" [more reverently, Master Doctor.] "No, no, my Lord," quoth he, "there belongeth no reverence to be given to these abominable presumptions; for an unreverent title would be unreverently answered." And there they left, and proceeded no further, at that time.

Thus this court passed, from session to session, and day to day, insomuch that, a certain day, the King sent for my lord, at the breaking up of the court, to come to him into Bridewell. And to accomplish his commandment, he went unto him, and being there, with him, in communication, in his grace's privy chamber, from eleven until twelve of the clock, and past, at noon, my lord came out, and departed from the King, and took his barge at the Black Friars, and so went to his house, at Westminster. The Bishop of Carlisle, being with him, in his barge, said unto him, (wiping the sweat from his face,) "Sir," quoth he, "it is a very hot day." "Yea," quoth my Lord Cardinal, "if ye had been as well chafed as I have been, within this hour, ye would say, it were very hot." And, as soon as he came home to his house, at Westminster, he went, incontinent, to his naked bed; where he had not lain, fully the space of two hours, but that my Lord of Wiltshire came to speak with him, of a message from the King. My lord, having understanding of his coming, caused him to be brought unto his bedside; and he, being there, showed him the King's pleasure was, that he should, incontinent, (accompanied with the other cardinal,) repair unto the Queen, at Bridewell, into her chamber, to persuade her, by their wisdoms, advising her to surrender the whole matter unto the King's hands, by her own will and consent; which should be much better to her honor, than to stand to the trial of law, and to be condemned, which would seem much to her slander and defamation. To fulfil the King's pleas-

ure, my lord [said] he was ready, and would prepare him to go thither, out of hand, saying, further, to my Lord of Wiltshire, "Ye, and other my lords of the council, which be near unto the King, are not a little to blame, and misadvised, to put any such fantasies into his head, whereby ye are the causes of great trouble to all the realm; and at length get you but small thanks, either of God, or of the world," with many other vehement words and sentences, that were like to ensue of this matter, which words caused my Lord of Wiltshire to water his eyes, kneeling, all this while, by my lord's bedside, and, in conclusion, departed. And then, my lord rose up, and made him ready, taking his barge, and went straight to Bath Place, to the other cardinal, and so went together, unto Bridewell, directly to the Queen's lodging: and they, being in her chamber of presence, showed to the gentleman usher, that they came to speak with the Queen's grace. The gentleman usher advertised the Queen thereof, incontinent. With that, she came out of her privy chamber, with a skein of white thread about her neck, into the chamber of presence, where the cardinals were giving of attendance upon her coming. At whose coming, quoth she, "Alack, my lords, I am very sorry to cause you to attend upon me; what is your pleasure with me?" "If it please you," quoth my lord cardinal, "to go into your privy chamber, we will show you the cause of our coming." "My lord," quoth she, "if you have any thing to say, speak it, openly, before all these folks; for I fear nothing that ye can say or allege against me, but that I would all the world should both hear and see it; therefore, I pray you, speak your minds, openly." Then began my lord to speak to her, in Latin. "Nay, good my lord," quoth she, "speak to me in English, I beseech you; although I understand Latin." "Forsooth, then," quoth my lord, "Madam, if it please your grace, we come both to know your mind, how ye be disposed to do in this matter between the King and you, and also to declare secretly our opinions, and our counsel unto you, which we have intended of very zeal and obedience, that we bear to your grace." "My lords, I thank you, then,"

quoth she, "of your good wills; but to make answer to your request, I cannot, so suddenly; for I was set among my maidens, at work, thinking full little of any such matter, wherein there needeth a longer deliberation, and a better head than mine, to make answer to so noble, wise men as ye be; I had need of good counsel in this case, which toucheth me so near; and for any counsel or friendship that I find in England, [they] are nothing to my purpose or profit. Think you, I pray you, my lords, will any Englishmen counsel or be friendly unto me, against the King's pleasure, they being his subjects? Nay, forsooth, my lords! and for my counsel, in whom I do intend to put my trust, be not here; they be in Spain, in my native country. Alas! my lords! I am a poor woman, lacking both wit and understanding, sufficiently to answer such approved wise men, as ye be, both, in so weighty a matter. I pray you, to extend your good and indifferent minds in your authority unto me, for I am a simple woman, destitute and barren of friendship and counsel, here, in a foreign region; and as for your counsel, I will not refuse, but be glad, to hear."

And with that, she took my lord by the hand, and led him into her privy chamber, with the other cardinal; where they were in long communication. We, in the other chamber, might sometime hear the Queen speak, very loud, but what it was, we could not understand. The communication ended, the cardinals departed, and went directly to the King, making to him relation of their talk with the Queen; and, after, resorted to their own houses, to supper.

Thus went this strange case forward, from court-day to court-day, until it came to the judgement; so that every man expected the judgement to be given upon the next court-day. At which day, the King came thither, and sat within a gallery, against the door of the same, that looked unto the judges where they sat, whom he might both see and hear speak, to hear what judgement they would give in his suit; at which time, all their proceedings were first openly read, in Latin. And that done, the King's learned counsel, at the bar, called fast for judgement.

With that, quoth Cardinal Campeggio,* "I will give no judgement herein, until I have made relation unto the Pope, of all our proceedings, whose counsel and commandment in this high case I will observe. The case is too high and notable, known throughout the world, for us to give any hasty judgement, considering the highness of the persons and the doubtful allegations: and also, whose commissioners we be, under whose authority we sit here. It were, therefore, reason, that we should make our chief head [of] counsel in the same, before we proceed to judgement definitive. I come not so far, to please any man, for fear, need, or favor, be he king, or any other potentate. I have no such respect to the persons, that I will offend my conscience. I will not, for favor or displeasure of any high estate or mighty prince, do that thing that should be against the law of God. I am an old man, both sick and impotent, looking, daily, for death. What should it then avail me to put my soul in the danger of God's displeasure, to my utter condemnation, for the favor of any prince or high estate in this world? My coming and being here is only to see justice ministered, according to my conscience, as I thought thereby the matter either good or bad. And, forasmuch as I do understand, and having perceivance by the allegations and negations in this matter, laid for both the parties, that the truth, in this case, is very doubtful to be known, and also, that the party defendant will make no answer thereunto, [but] doth rather appeal from us, supposing that we be not indifferent, considering the King's high dignity and authority, within this his own realm, which he hath over his own subjects; and we being his subjects, and having our livings and dignities in the same, she thinketh that we cannot minister true and indifferent justice, for fear of his displeasure. Therefore, to avoid all these ambiguities and obscure doubts, I intend not to condemn my soul,

* This determination of Campeggio was in consequence of secret instructions from the Pope, (unknown to Wolsey,) at the instance of the Emperor, [Charles V.,] who had prevailed upon the Pontiff to adjourn the court, and remove the cause to Rome.—*Note of the English Editor.*

for no prince or potentate alive. I will, therefore, God willing, wade no further, in this matter, unless I have the just opinion and judgement, with the assent, of the Pope, and such other of his counsel as hath more experience and learning in such doubtful laws, than I have. Wherefore, I will adjourn this court, for this time, according to the order of the court in Rome, whence this court and jurisdiction is derived. And if we should go further, than our commission doth warrant us, it were folly and vain, and much to our slander and blame ; and [we] might be accounted, for the same, breakers of the order of the higher court, whence we have (as I said) our original authorities." With that, the court was dissolved, and no more pleas holden.

THE SIEGES OF LEYDEN AND OSTEND, IN THE WAR OF THE NETHERLANDS, FOR INDEPENDENCE.

BY BENTIVOGLIO.

Guy Bentivoglio, descended from an ancient and distinguished noble family, in Italy, was born at Ferrara, in the year 1579. He died in 1644, while present, as cardinal, in the conclave which had assembled after the death of Pope Urban the Eighth. Bentivoglio occupied many high stations in the Papal government. In 1607, he was sent by Pope Paul the Fifth to Flanders, as Papal nuncio. Here, he remained nine years ; after which, he went, in the same capacity, to France. He left many works, among which, are 'Cardinal Bentivoglio's Relations of Events during his Embassies to Flanders and France.' His accounts of the war in the Netherlands were translated and published under the title of 'History of the Wars in Flanders, Englished by Henry, Earl of Monmouth, 1698." From this translation the following extracts are taken, with some modifications, adapting it to the class of readers for whom this Volume is intended. The war for independence, waged by the Netherlands against the crown of Spain, admits of being considered in various points of view. We may consider it with reference to the almost unparallelled heroism of the people, during a fearfully cruel and sanguinary war, protracted through a long series of years ; or to the remarkable character of their great general, statesman, citizen, and martyr, William of Orange, surnamed the Silent. We may consider the war with relation to its cause and object, religion and liberty ; or to its effects, and those of its final issue, upon the politics of Britain, and, more or less directly, upon those of all European nations and their descendants in other parts of the world. We may view it with reference to the great political principles which were, for the first time, boldly proclaimed, when that nation struggled into an independent existence ; or to the great effect which its independence had upon the whole history of commerce, and upon many principles radically affecting the great exchange of produce among the various nations

of the world. In whatever light, however, we regard it, this event must certainly be called one of the most prominent in the history of man.

Very many instances of heroic fortitude, not only in men, but even in women, were exhibited in the course of that long war. But nowhere, probably, were more striking examples of this virtue shown, than in the almost superhuman endurance of the citizens, when besieged by the Spaniards. Even indifferent soldiers will do their duty, sufficiently well, so long as the army is victorious ; but retreats and sieges are the touchstones of sound warriors. If this is an acknowledged truth, with regard to regular, tried, and well-disciplined troops, it is still more so, in the case of citizens who have suddenly become soldiers. Gallant bands of citizens, who would have died, nobly, in open battle, will, nevertheless, often falter, when hunger and disease beset them on all sides, in a besieged fortress, when near and dear relations drop off, one by one, around them, and no hope is visible, even in the furthest horizon. Yet, in all these trials, the Netherlanders remained firm.

From the series of sieges, which took place during this war, those of Leyden and Ostend have been selected. Numerous incidents might have been added to the narrative of Bentivoglio, who, the reader will perceive, had no interest in representing the courage of the Protestants in a favorable light. Accounts of many such incidents are to be found in Campen's History of the Netherlands ; but the plan of the present work did not admit of their insertion.

The intervening passages, and the notes, are taken from the work, already quoted : 'Historical Parallels,' London, 1831.

SIEGE OF LEYDEN.*

"Now followed the Siege of Leyden, which was particularly memorable for the condition of the succor, which so altered the order of affairs, that the besiegers became besieged ; and, whatever unhappy success the assailed expected, the assailant made trial of the very same. Leyden is one of the chief towns of Holland ; it is seated low, in the midst, it may be said, of a labyrinth of channels, which cut through the territories thereof, on all sides, and are filled, part with running, and part with standing,

* The siege of Leyden took place in the year, 1574.

waters ; the Rhine, or rather, one of its branches, runs through it ; a branch, which, though now the weakest, hath formerly been the most frequented ; and still retains its ancient name, whereas the rest, as they draw near the sea, lose their names in those of other rivers. So many other channels are derived from this branch, within the town itself, in several parts, that the space, which is there broken off by the islands, is, in some degree, larger than that which is united to the continent. But, if it be divided by so many channels, it is rejoined by many more bridges, of which there are about a hundred and fifty, serving either for use or ornament ; the most of them being of stone. The town is well peopled ; the streets are large, and the buildings well polished. It is well flanked, round about ; the surrounding ditch is every where deep ; and, in fine, the town is, in all circumstances, in such condition, that the king's men had good reason to use all endeavors to gain, and the rebels to keep, possession of it.

" The royalists endeavored, with diligence, to make themselves masters of all avenues, whereby succor might be given to the town. The parts thereabouts (as hath been said) are full of channels and rivers ; wherefore it was thought necessary to block up, with sundry forts, all passages, by which the city might be approached, either by land or water ; so that, ere long, nearly sixty forts had been built round about it, whereby almost all possibility of relieving it was taken away. The Leydenists, in the meanwhile, were not wanting, on their parts, in preparing for defence. And, judging that the royalists intended rather to take the town by famine, than by the sword, they thought it convenient not to receive many foreign soldiers into the city, that they might the longer preserve their provisions ; and they also hoped, they had men enough of their own to maintain and defend it.*

" John Douza, a famous Latin poet in those days, very nobly born, and of other high deserts, had the chief gov-

* The citizens replied to a summons to surrender, that they would not lack food, while their left arms remained, but feed on them, and fight for liberty with their right.—*Strada, de Bello Belgico*, lib. viii.

ernment of the affairs of the city. He failed not in acting his part well; he still encouraged the Leydenists, and fed them with hopes, that the other cities would speedily join with and relieve them. In confirmation of this, letters and messages sometimes came, from without, and some news was cunningly raised, within the town itself; though it was very true, that Orange and the rest of the rebels in that province labored for nothing more, than how to keep a place of such consequence still at their devotion. It was now the month of August; and the Leydenists already began to suffer, from want of provisions. The states of the country, therefore, met, to treat of so weighty a business, and to find out some way, whereby the city might be relieved; and this affair began to be of great importance. The deputies differed in their opinions; some thought, that the town might be most easily succored by making a gallant assault by land; others held, that it might better be relieved by some river or channel; but the greatest part concluded, that there was little hope of doing it either one way or the other, the king's men having so strongly fortified themselves, every where. Lewis Boisot, admiral of Holland, was at this meeting. He was a man very expert in maritime affairs; of a manlike spirit, and good at execution; and one who was very well esteemed over all the province. He, whilst they were hottest in the variety of their opinions, stepped forth, to propound his, and began to speak thus:

"'I wish that our own misfortunes did not too deplorably teach us how perverse the fury of the sea sometimes proves to our countries. Who sees not, how we are daily forced to oppose our industry to the threats thereof? Nor have our mountainous banks been sufficient so to curb the tempest of her waves, but that, sometimes, she hath swallowed up whole islands, on some sides, and caused miserable and unheard-of ruin, in other parts. We are now to seek for remedy, in this our present necessity, from the evils which do so often afflict us. Let Nature work the same effect, to-day, for our good, which she hath, upon so many other occasions, for our hurt. And, with those weapons, wherewith she makes war against us,

let us, by her example, wake war upon our enemies. Every one knows, that, at the two equinoxes of the year, the ocean swells extraordinarily high, upon our coasts; and, by the season of the year, we are shortly to expect the effects thereof. My counsel shall, therefore, be, that we may, immediately, at the high tides, begin to let the waters loose into the neighboring ground of Leyden: greater tides will hereafter follow. And thus, turning the siege upon the besiegers, we may hope to destroy our enemies, within their own works, and, at the same time, to free the city from all danger. It may be thought impossible to relieve it by land, or by the ordinary way of channels or rivers; whereas, by the way which I have prescribed, we may believe that our enterprise will be smiled on, by success. It will be in our power, to let in the inundation, where we please. We shall see the enemy strangely astonished and confused, between the shame of abandoning the siege and the horror of continuing it. But, being forced, at last, to fly, we shall see our own weapons and those of Nature conspire together, in slaughtering them on all sides; and shall see that punishment justly transferred to them, which they, with open violence, prepared for the innocent. The portion of country, which shall be drowned, will, doubtless, be somewhat damaged thereby; but who would not bear with an inconvenience, from which their country shall receive so great a benefit? On the contrary, whose hair will not stand on end, to think, that, after the loss of Haerlem and of Leyden, the whole province will shortly remain at the cruel will of the Spaniards? We must sometimes do apparent injury, in order to effect good. How oft do we cut off some one member, for the welfare and safeguard of the rest of the body? Yet this evil will not prove finally so great, but that it will, in time, be paid with great usury. Some worldly actions prove so memorable, that they strike envy dumb, and add new tongues to fame. This of ours will certainly be such, and will be, every where, highly celebrated. I, who so boldly give the advice, do, as confidently, pronounce the augury; and hope that the event will crown both of them with fortunate success.'

"At the hearing of so strange a proposition, the deputies were much confused, whether they should accept or reject it. But it is ofttimes seen, that, need passing into necessity, necessity passeth into desperation. And thus it proved, in what we shall now relate. For all of them, joining, at last, in opinion, that Leyden was not to be freed by any other way than by what Boisot had propounded, it was resolved, that, at all adventures, they would follow his advice. The chief banks or ditches of the Meuse and Isell, between Rotterdam and Tergowe, were presently cut through, in divers places; and, at the high tide, the waters began to break in, every where, and overflow all the grounds, which lie between Tergowe, Rotterdam, Delf, and Leyden. At the sight of this unlooked-for inundation, the Spaniards were, at first, much astonished; but they were soon aware of their enemies' design. The king's forts were very many, as we have said, and divers of them were situated in the lowest places. These the inundation quickly reached, and, therefore, they were speedily forsaken; and those who kept them went to join with those that kept the chief forts, which were so placed that they might be the more easily maintained. In the meanwhile, when once the enemy had adopted the aforesaid resolution, they applied themselves apace, to get together many vessels, which should be fit to relieve Leyden. They were very careful to build them with shallow bottoms, to the end that they might pass over those grounds where the waters were shallowest. The greatest part of them were built in Rotterdam, by reason of the nearness and opportunity of its situation. The whole country was in great expectation of the result, and, therefore, people flocked from all parts, to help to build boats; many of which were to be in the form of galleys with oars, to the end that they might the easier get by the passes, and assault the forts, which were yet in the royalists' possession. These boats were therefore furnished with many pieces of artillery, and such people as were judged fit to fight. Whilst they were making this preparation, the admiral of Holland endeavored, with some ships prepared for that purpose, to force certain passes, and to bring some suc-

cor into Leyden ; for the besieged suffered, very much, for want of victuals, and did very earnestly solicit succor. But his design did not, at that time, take effect ; for the waters were not yet so far increased, that his vessels could come near Leyden. All Holland joined, therefore, in their prayers, that the sea might suddenly swell higher ; and that the province, by the raising of the siege of Leyden, might receive so desired a misfortune.

" On the other side, the king's men were not backward in securing their forts, and repairing them with earth, hay, and whatsoever else they could procure, suitable for the purpose ; and, hoping that the waters would swell no higher, they persuaded themselves that they should, within a few days, finish their business. They very well knew the townsmen's necessities ; and that, all their victuals being already spent, the affairs within were drawing to great extremity. While both sides were in these hopes and fears, the time came, when Nature, by way of her hidden causes, was likewise to work her effects. About the end of September, the sea began to swell, exceedingly, according as it usually does at that season of the year ; and pouring in, at the high tides, no longer waves, but even mountains of waters, into the most inward channels and rivers, made so great an inundation, that all the country about Leyden seemed to be turned into a sea.* It cannot be said how much the rebels were hereby encouraged, and the king's men discouraged. The former came presently forth with their fleet, which consisted of about one hundred and fifty bottoms, a great part whereof were made like galleys ; and to these, were added many other boats, which served only to carry provisions. The whole fleet was thus assembled together, about the beginning of October, and put to water in good order, to execute their designed relief. The galleys went on the outsides ; the other great vessels, which, if need should be, were to play upon the forts, in the midst ; and those which bore the victuals, in the rear. But there was no occasion of any

* Strada says, with an expression of incredulity, however, that, by means of this inundation, vessels came, over-land, to Leyden, from a distance of forty miles.

great contention ; for the king's men, having valiantly defended themselves, in sundry places, considering that they were not now to fight with men, but with the elements, thought rather how to withdraw themselves into places of safety, than rashly to oppose the enemy. Yet they could not abandon their fortifications, neither so soon nor in so good order, but that many of them remained a prey, either to the sword or to the water. And, truly, it was a miserable spectacle, to behold, from all parts, one slain, another drowned ; and many endeavor to save themselves in the highest places, where, when they were freed from the waters, they were inexorably slain by the enemy.* It is said, that above fifteen hundred of the king's men perished thus, most of them Spaniards, who were chiefly employed in ordering the siege, and who, desirous to bear away the greatest glory, fell into the greatest misfortune. Thus was Leyden, at last, relieved, after five months' siege, to the exceeding great joy of the rebels, and all that favored them. But, nevertheless, the memory of this siege remained a long time very sorrowful in the city ; for about ten thousand died, within the town, of hunger and other sufferings ; and all the most unclean and vilest nourishment was already consumed, when the relief was brought in ; and the besieged, resolving rather to die than to yield, expected nothing but that the city should give up her last breath, and, remaining a miserable carcass, should be buried within her own walls and houses." So far Bentivoglio.

In this siege, the Spanish general committed a fatal error, in not trying an assault, which might probably have succeeded, since there were no regular troops within the town ; a body of English auxiliaries, who were placed in

† The Dutch annoyed the Spaniards much, with sharp hooks fastened to poles or ropes, by which they drew up the Spaniards into their shipping. One Peter Borgia was caught up with four hooks, into a vessel holding six or seven men, and supposed to be mortally hurt ; but presently, while they were deeply engaged in fishing for more men, he caught up a battle-axe, and set on them, from behind, with such fury, that he killed three, and frightened the rest overboard, and thus carried off, to the Spanish camp, a vessel laden with provisions.—*Strada, Bell. Belg.* lib. viii.

advance, near Gouda, and intended by the Prince of Orange to form the garrison of Leyden, when dislodged, having behaved so ill in the first skirmish, that the citizens refused them entrance within the walls. And this step, which might have been their ruin, became the cause of their safety, for the additional number of consumers must have brought their provisions to an earlier end, besides that no troops, comparatively uninterested in the event, would have endured the extremity of distress to which the men of Leyden were reduced. Of the amount of their suffering, which the Italian historian, just quoted, barely notices, the reader will be enabled to form a fuller idea, by a few particulars, derived from other authorities.

"With extreme impatience, they now expected the approach of those tides, which are commonly the object of their dread and terror. The situation of the besieged had become most desperate and deplorable. During seven weeks, there had not been a morsel of bread within the city; and the only food had been the roots of herbs and weeds, and the flesh of dogs and horses. Even all these were at length consumed, and the people reduced to live on soup, made of the hides of animals which had been killed. A pestilence succeeded to the famine, and carried off, in a few weeks, some thousands of the inhabitants. Those who survived, overwhelmed with anguish, at the dismal scenes which they daily beheld, were scarcely able to perform the mournful office of burying the dead. In this dreadful situation, they saw, from their walls, the flags and sails of the vessels destined for their relief, but had the mortification to perceive, that it was utterly impossible for them to approach. It is not surprising, that some of the people, finding their misery greater than they were able to endure, should have entertained the thoughts of surrendering the town to the enemy. Some conspiracies were again formed for this purpose, but they were discovered and defeated by the vigilance of Douza, supported by a great majority of the people, to whom neither the pestilence, nor famine, nor death in its most hideous forms, appeared so dreadful, as the tyranny of the Spaniards.

"A great number of people having come, one day, in a tumultuous manner, to a magistrate, whose name was Adrian, exclaiming that he ought either to give them food, or deliver the town into the hands of the enemy: 'I have solemnly sworn,' he replied, 'that I will never surrender myself, or my fellow-citizens, to the cruel and perfidious Spaniard; and I will sooner die, than violate my oath. I have no food, else I would give it you. But, if my death can be of use to you, take, tear me in pieces, and devour me. I shall die with satisfaction, if I know, that by my death, I shall, for one moment, relieve you from your direful necessity.' By this extraordinary answer, the people, struck with astonishment, were silenced, and their fury was, for some time, appeased."*

SIEGE OF OSTEND.

"We will now come to the siege of Ostend, which, being one of the most memorable of this our age, doth certainly require, that, as much brevity and diligence as may be being joined together, it be duly considered and represented with all clearness. It was above three years, before it was brought to an end; and it was almost as uncertain, at the last day, as at the first, to which side the victory did incline. The besieged never wanted fresh succors by sea, nor did the besiegers, at any time, cease advancing by land. Infinite were the batteries, the assaults infinite; so many were the mines, and so obstinate the countermines, that it may be almost affirmed, that as much work was done, under, as above, ground. New names were to be found for new engines. There was a perpetual dispute between the sea and land; the works on the latter could not produce so much, as the mines made by the former did destroy. Great store of blood ran, every where, and men were readier to lose it than to preserve it, till the besieged wanting ground, and rather what to defend than defence, they were at last forced to abandon that little spot of ground which was left them, and to yield.

* Watson's History of Philip II.

"Ostend stands upon the seashore, in the midst of a marshy ground, and of divers channels, which come from the continent; but it is chiefly environed, on almost all sides, by two of the greatest of these channels, by which the sea enters into the land, and rises so high, when it is full sea, that you would rather think the town were buried, than situated, in the sea. In former times, it was an open place, and served rather as a habitation for shepherds than for soldiers. But the importance of the site being afterwards considered, the houses were enclosed with a platform, instead of a wall, and, from time to time, the line was so flanked round about it, that it proved to be one of the strongest towns of all the province of Flanders. It is divided into two parts, which are called the old town and the new. The former, which is the lesser, stands towards the sea; the latter and greater lies towards the land. The old town is fenced from the fury of the sea by great piles of wood, driven into the ground, and joined together, for the defence of that part; and there, the waves sufficiently supply the part of a ditch. The channels may be said to do the like, on the sides; and, especially at full sea, the channels become havens, being then capable of holding any kind of vessels, and by them, at all times, barks of the middle size enter into the ditches, and, from the ditches, in divers parts, into the town itself; and, in addition to the chief well-flanked line, on the outside of the ditch, there is, towards the land side, a *strada coperta* raised, which is so well furnished with new flanks, and with a new ditch, that this outward fortification doth hardly give way to any of the inward ones. The town is but of a small compass, and is ennobled rather by its situation and fortifications, than by any splendor either of inhabitants or houses. The United Provinces caused it to be very carefully kept at this time, wherefore it was largely provided with men, artillery, ammunition, and whatsoever else was necessary for the defence thereof. In this condition was the town, when the Archduke resolved to sit down before it."

On the east of the town, there was a detached fort, called St. Alberto; on the west, another, called Bre-

dene ; both which had been abandoned by the garrison. These were occupied by the besieging army, which proceeded to surround Ostend, on the land side, with a chain of works. This was not done without sharp fighting ; for the governor, Sir Francis Vere, had raised redoubts in front of his fortifications, and hotly contested every inch of ground. It seemed, also, necessary to cut off the communication with the sea ; and, with this view, a bank was run out, on the eastern side, from St. Alberto, to prevent barks from entering by the channel in that quarter. But it was also expedient to block up the channel, on the side of Bredene, and, in doing this, greater difficulties were to be overcome.

The siege began in the Summer of 1601, and the Autumn had been consumed in these works, when, towards the end of December, a terrible storm from the sea so shattered the town, that the inhabitants, despairing of being able to resist an assault, began to parley ; but their spirits were recruited, and the negotiations broken off, by a seasonable re-enforcement, both of men and all manner of provisions. The Archduke, being thus disappointed in his hopes, gave orders that a battery should be raised, on the side of St. Alberto, which played so furiously upon the sea-bulwark, that a practicable breach was soon made, and an assault ordered. To divert the enemy, directions were given that Count Bucquoy, who commanded at Bredene, should pass the channel there, and fall with his men on the wall, where it was beaten down, and that, upon the land-side, there should be alarms given, every where. " When they came to the assault, the assailants behaved themselves gallantly, and used all means to get upon the wall ; and, though many of them fell down, dead and wounded, and the horror of night, which already came on, made their dangers the more terrible, yet did it serve rather to set the Catholics on fire, than to make them cool in their fight. But there appeared no less resoluteness of resistance in those within ; for, opposing themselves, valiantly, on all sides, and being very well able to do it, having so many men, and such store of all necessary provisions, they stoutly

defended themselves. Upon the coming on of night, they had set up many lights, in divers parts of the town, whereby they the better maintained the places assigned to them, and with more security hit those that assailed them, as well as came the better to where their help was required. They also soon discerned, that they were all false alarms that were given without, and that the true assault was made only in one place. To this was added, that Count Bucquoy, not finding the water of the aforesaid channel so deep as he believed, could by no means pass over to them. Yet the Catholics did, for a long time, continue their assault; but, the defendants' advantages still increasing, the assailants were at last forced to give over, with great loss; for there were above six hundred slain and wounded. Nor did those within let slip the occasion of injuring, yet more, the Catholics, as they retreated; for, plucking up some of their sluices, by which they both received the seawater into their ditches and let it out again, they turned the water with such violence into the channel, which the Catholics had passed over before they came to the assault, and which they were to pass over again, in their retreat, that many of them were unfortunately drowned."

The year 1602 set in with such severe cold, that the Archduke was advised to abandon the siege. But he would not be persuaded thereto, thinking the King's honor, as well as his own, engaged in its success. He ordered, therefore, a great platform to be raised in the quarter of St. Alberto, which might command the town, as much as possible, and gave new orders, that Bucquoy should advance, with all possible speed, the great bank, which was designed to obstruct the channel of Bredene. Having given these orders, he retired to Ghent, and left the camp-master, John di Rivas, in command of the siege, who employed himself, diligently, in forwarding these important works. "To the first and largest foundation, which was well incorporated with wet sand, and other condense matter, others of the like sort were added, till the dike was raised to the height it ought to be; and the breadth thereof was extraordinarily great. In addi-

tion to the ordinary plain thereof, upon which two great cannons might stand abreast, there was a great parapet raised in it against the town, to shelter the soldiers, which, being in divers places furnished with artillery, did greatly endamage the enemy likewise on that side. This work was made in a sandy and low situation, whither the sea, at full tide, came; so that it cannot be said with how much expense, labor, and loss of blood, this work was advanced." Still, the town continued to receive succors, as plentifully as ever, and the works proceeded, so slowly, from without, that the hopes of bringing the siege to a happy end did daily rather decrease than increase. Yet Rivas was very diligent in discharging his duty; the platform was completed, and mounted with cannon, and the besieged were driven from some of their outer works; these were then furnished with artillery, which he turned against the fortifications which sheltered the town, on that side.

"Some progress was, likewise, daily made, on the Bredene side, in advancing the great dike. Bucquoy had the chief charge thereof, and it was called by his name. And he used all possible diligence to harass the town, and the entrance of the channel, on that side. But there appeared no less vigilance in the besieged; their courage abounded, according as the town did abound with all sorts of provisions. There was hardly any one day, in which they did not sally out; nor did the besiegers do any thing which cost not much labor and blood. The platform was made chiefly of bavins and other wood, and the great dike was composed of the like materials. Two furious batteries were therefore levelled from the town, with artificial fireballs, against these two works, to set them on fire, and endamage them, by that means. Nor did they fail in their design; for, by long battering, they at last took fire, and were thereby so torn and spoiled, that it cost much time and the death of many men, to remake them. Nor was the enemies' loss less, either in number or quality.

"Pompeio Torgone, a famous engineer, came, at this time, from Italy to Flanders, drawn thither by the

fame of this siege. He had a very ready wit, which made him apt for inventions in his calling; but, having never, till then, passed from the theory to the practical part in military affairs, it was soon seen, that many of his imaginations did not, upon trial, prove such, as in appearance they promised to be. He began to build a castle of wood, upon boats fastened together. The castle was round, high, and large, proportionably. On the top thereof, it was capable of six great pieces of artillery, on one side, and, on the other side, there was place enough for those soldiers who were to attend them. Torgone intended to bring this machine into the mouth of the channel, and to firmly fix it there, where succor was brought into Ostend, hoping, thereby, to keep the town from relief. But this could not so soon be done, but that it was preceded by the other work of drawing the great dike to the same channel, whereupon to raise afterwards a fort, by which that passage might be so much the more impeded. To accelerate this work, likewise, Torgone bethought himself of other engines, by means of which the great quantity of materials, whereof the dike was made, might the more easily be brought into use. These materials being put together, in manner as they ought to be, he placed a certain number of little barrels under the hollow of the middle thereof, and on the sides, by which, at full sea, the engines floated, and were afterwards brought, by cranes, to join with the dike, in that part where the work was continued on. These engines were called floats. But, such was the tempest of the enemies' cannon-shot, which incessantly fell upon them, when they rested upon the sand; and then, again, they were so injured by the sea-storms, that ofttimes the work of many days was destroyed in a few hours. And really it was pitiful, to see how much blood was there shed, and how little the meaner sort of people, who were employed therein, did, out of a desire of gain, value it."

This was the condition of Ostend, when the Archduke bethought himself to give the care of the siege to the Marquis Spinola. Great, certainly, was the honor of

such an employment, yet there seemed so little prospect of success, that Spinola hesitated for some time; but, finally, being persuaded there was more of hope than fear, in the offer that was made him, he resolved cheerfully to accept it.

"The first thing, the Marquis did, was, to make great store of provision, of all such materials as were necessary, as well for the work of the great dike, on the Bredene side, as for the other works, which were to be made on the side of St. Alberto; on which side, the town was chiefly intended to be straitened and forced; the ground over against it was all sandy, and full of channels and little rivulets, besides those two greater channels, already mentioned, which fell into the sea. The same sea, likewise, at the flood, did so whirl about every place, thereabouts, that earth was not any where to be found of which to make trenches; these had, therefore, to be supplied with the above materials. This was chiefly brought by the floats, invented by Torgone; and, though the great dike did daily advance, yet it was known, that such a work would prove too long and too uncertain. The hope of keeping out succor becoming every day less and less, Spinola bent all his endeavors to take the town by force. We told you, before, that all vessels were hindered, by a fort, from coming into the lesser channel, which falls into the sea, on the St. Alberto side. Yet the channel itself was of great advantage to the enemy, on that side, as it served for a great ditch to their counterscarp, which was strong of itself, and yet made stronger by many flanks, by which it was defended. Before the Catholics could come to assault the counterscarp, they must first pass over the channel, which it was difficult to do, with safety or shelter, in any part thereof, as it was evidently seen, that many of them must perish, being exposed to be injured by the enemy. The attack was led on, on four sides, from the St. Alberto quarter. The Germans wrought nearer the sea; then followed the Spaniards; after them, the Italians; and, on the outmost side, more towards land, the Walloons and Burgonians. Great was the fervency of all these nations; and such a

contention was there among them, in striving which of them should most advance the works, that the soldiers' emulation seemed rather a contest between enemies than between rivals. The channel was narrower and more shallow where the Burgonians and Walloons wrought. They were, therefore, the first that passed over it, and afterwards the other nations did the like. To pass over it, a great quantity of the materials before mentioned were thrown into every part thereof, where the aforesaid nations wrought. Those materials were reduced to dikes or banks, upon which the soldiers advanced towards the town. But very many of them were slain and wounded. For the defendants, with their hail of musket-shot, and tempest of greater artillery, charged with little bullets and shot in a great quantity, and ofttimes with artificial fire, made the Catholics' work, on all sides, very bloody. The soldiers, that they might enjoy the best shelter that they could, invented many fences; some consisted of gabions, filled with earth, well joined and fastened together; others of long bavins, which stood upright, and so thick, that they were musket proof; and others, of several forms, made of the before-mentioned materials. Torgone invented, likewise, a great cart, from which a bridge, made of cloth and cords, might, unexpectedly, be thrown over the channel, and so the enemies' defences the easier be assaulted. The cart stood upon four very high wheels; and, upon the fore part thereof, rose up, as it were, the mast of a ship, which served chiefly to let down and to take up the bridge. But the whole bulk proved to be of so cumbersome a size, and so hard to be managed, that, before it was undertaken, it was known it could work to no advantage. The aforesaid fences were wrought, where the artillery of the town could not reach; and, at the flowing of the sea, they were brought upon the floats, to the places, where they were made use of. Great was the mortality, likewise, of those that wrought here; the enemy making usually such havoc of them, with their muskets, artillery, and sallies, that, ofttimes, hardly one of them could be saved. But money still procured new men, and ofttimes the soldiers themselves

wrought. Nor was Spinola wanting, in being, as it were, in all places at all times, and in exposing himself, as well as any of the rest, to all labor and danger; encouraging some, rewarding others, and behaving himself so, that his imitating, without any manner of respect unto himself, the most hazardous works of others, made the rest the more ready to imitate his.

"When all the nations had passed the channel, each of them began, with like emulation, to force the ravelins and half-moons, which sheltered the counterscarp. And the Walloons and Burgonians, by reason of their quarter, were the first that did it, but with much effusion of blood, even of the noblest amongst them; for, amongst the rest, Catris, a Walloon camp-master, was lost, a valiant and greatly experienced soldier, whom Spinola highly esteemed, both for his deeds and counsel. With the like progress, and no less loss of blood, did the other nations advance. So that the enemies, at last, lost all the fortifications which they had, without their principal line; about which, ran a great ditch, but not so hard to pass, as was the channnel which fenced the counterscarp. The easier doing of it made the Catholics hope better in the effecting thereof; wherefore, full of fresh courage, they prepared to continue their labors, more heartily than ever, that they might the sooner end the siege; but the Winter, being already come, much hindered their works, and the sea did then more destroy them by her tempests. The enemy, likewise, made very fierce opposition; they set up batteries within, against the batteries without; mines opposed countermines; they repaired themselves, on all sides; and, as fast as one rampart was lost, they set up another. So that the Catholics had to advance, as it were, by inches; and yet they did so advance, that, by the Spring, they had got well forward into the ditch.

"These progressions of Marquis Spinola, together with his daily proceedings, made the United Provinces shrewdly afraid, that they should at last lose Ostend. A consultation was therefore held, by their chief commanders, how the town might be best preserved,—which might be done by two ways; either by some important diver-

sion, or by raising the siege by main force. The second way brought with it such difficulties, that the first was chosen. Wherefore, they resolved to besiege Sluys ; a town which likewise stood upon the sea, and was of so great consequence, that it did rather exceed than come short of Ostend, in importance.

Sluys was accordingly besieged and taken. It afforded great satisfaction to the Flemish, that, in three months' time, and with the loss of so little blood, they had made a greater acquisition than that of Ostend, which would cost above three years' expense of time, and an infinity of Spanish gold and blood, if it could hold out no longer. But, though Spinola made an unsuccessful attempt to relieve Sluys, he could not be prevailed on to break up the siege of Ostend, and his troops were inflamed the more, by a desire of counterbalancing that loss. So that, at last, after much slaughter, they won the ditch, and the first line of fortifications ; but, meanwhile, a new one had been raised, by those within.

" Sluys was just then lost ; and it was feared that Count Maurice would come to the relief of Ostend. The Catholics being, therefore, so much the more moved, and Spinola being again returned, it is not to be expressed with what fervor they fell to their works, on all sides. The greatest progress was made towards the old town of Ostend ; because, when they should have won that, they might easily hinder the entrance into the channel, by the mouth whereof succor was brought from the sea ; and, as the new town was much commanded by the old, therefore Spinola did the more re-enforce his batteries, assaults, mines, and all his other most efficacious works, on that side, than on any other ; nor was it long, ere the Catholics had almost wholly taken it.

" They likewise advanced, after the same manner, against the new fortifications, so that the besieged had no place, whither to retreat ; wherefore, wanting ground to defend, when they most abounded in all things for defence, they were at last forced to surrender the town ; which was done about the middle of September, upon the most honorable conditions that they could desire.

Count Maurice was often minded to attempt the succor by main force; but, considering that he was to enter into an enemy's country, amongst strong and well-guarded towns, and that he should meet with men that were very ready to fight, he thought it not proper, after his prosperous success at Sluys, to hazard falling into some misfortune, as, upon such an occasion, he might peradventure do, and therefore he forebore to do it. It was a remarkable thing, to see so many soldiers march out of a town; for there were above four thousand of them, all strong and healthful, they having enjoyed great plenty of all things in Ostend, by reason of their continual succors. So that, besides great store of artillery, there was found in the town such abundance of victuals, ammunition, and of whatsoever else may be imagined, for the defence of a royal town, that the like was never known to be in any other place.

"Thus ended the siege of Ostend; very memorable, doubtless, in itself, but much more, in consideration of the great expense of moneys and time, which the winning and losing of it cost. The siege continued above three years; in which time, the prevailing opinion was, that there died, by the sword and by sickness, above a hundred thousand men, between the one and the other side; whereby it may be conceived, what proportionable moneys and other things were therein spent. The town having been yielded up, the Archduke and Infanta had the curiosity to go and see it, and went from Gaunt thither, where they found nothing but a misshapen chaos of earth, which hardly retained any show of the first Ostend. Ditches filled up; curtains beaten down; bulwarks torn in pieces; half-moons, flanks, and redoubts, so confused one with another, that they could not be distinguished; nor could it be known on which side the attack, or on which the defence, was; yet they would know all, and receive the whole relation, from Spinola's own mouth. He represented, in full, the last posture of the siege; he showed the Spaniards' quarters, and those of the Italians, as also those of each other nation. He related, how stoutly they contended, who should outvie one another in

pains-taking ; on which part, the greatest resistance was made, within ; where the dispute was most difficult, without ; where they wanted ground to retreat unto ; where the enemy used their utmost power ; and where, at last, the town was surrendered. The Archduke saw the great platform, the great dike, and whatsoever else, fit to excite curiosity, might be suggested by the unusual character of that siege ; but not without the Infanta's great compassion, and even tears, by looking upon the horror of those parts where the sword, fire, sea, and earth, may be said to have conspired together, in making so long and so miserable a destruction of Christians. They both did very much commend Spinola, and also thanked the rest of the commanders, who had deserved well in that enterprise. Nor did they less congratulate the inferior officers and soldiers, who had exposed themselves, most, to those dangers."

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE INVINCIBLE ARMADA, IN 1588.

BY JOHN STOWE.

The contest between the Protestants and Roman Catholics had divided all Europe into two great hostile masses. An active counter-reformation, as it has been called by a distinguished historian, had begun, on the part of the Roman Catholics. Many eminent men, and whole corporate societies, within the Roman Catholic Church, were actively engaged in reforming abuses, and bringing back to its folds those who had been separated by the Reformation ; while several princes strove to accomplish the same object, by forcible and violent measures. The most prominent among these was Philip the Second, King of Spain, a morose bigot, both in religion and politics ; cruel, and without faith, whenever he conceived it to be necessary, and apparently shut out, by cold selfishness, from any friendly fellow-feeling for his kind. The Netherlands, dependent upon his crown, had risen against him. It was partly his wanton tyranny, and partly the Protestant spirit which was fast spreading in those countries, and his denial of any liberty of conscience, which had brought about this memorable and great event, of vast importance in the history of civilized man. Elizabeth of England, a princess of great wisdom, and who rested her power, in a great measure, upon Protestantism, had aided the Protestant insurgents of the Low Countries. This circumstance, as well as the fact that England was the most powerful of the united Protestant states, and therefore the greatest political prop of the Protestant religion, or that it might easily become such, made her an object of peculiar attention to Philip and the Pope. They considered, indeed, that nothing would be more conducive to the general reestablishment of the Roman Catholic religion, than the reduction of that Queen to a state of dependence, or her dethronement, which, probably, was no less passionately desired, on account of the severe laws against Roman Catholics, in England. Elizabeth, on her part, feared

the increase of the power of Spain. For this reason, she had aided the Netherlanders. She doubtless considered an open war, between England and Spain, as unavoidable, and had suffered Sir Francis Drake, in April, 1587, to destroy, in the port of Cadiz, a considerable fleet of the Spaniards. Philip of Spain, after serious deliberations in his council, had resolved to reduce the power of England; and, if possible, to conquer her. For this purpose, a fleet was armed, of such magnitude, that it was believed to be sure of success, and was called the Invincible Armada. In the port of Lisbon, alone, were collected about one hundred and fifty sail of vessels, with two thousand six hundred and twenty cannons, eight thousand sailors, and twenty thousand soldiers, not reckoning the smaller vessels and their crews. The fleet was well provided with all necessary equipments; and monks and priests were not wanting on board, to preach the Roman Catholic faith in the conquered country. Other armaments took place to join this. Pope Sixtus the Fifth had once more ordered the dethronement of Elizabeth, and anathematized her; he had charged Philip to conquer her kingdom; and had called upon every one to deliver her, alive or dead, into his hands.

Elizabeth was well aware of the greatness of her danger; but never did she rise higher, or show herself more worthy of her throne, than at this period. Her Roman Catholic subjects too, forgetting all religious animosities, and considering the conquest of their native country the greatest of all disgraces, flocked to her standards, as eagerly as the Protestants. From the highest to the lowest ranks, they manifested a truly English spirit, and promptly offered their means toward defraying the expenses of the war. Thus the hope of Philip, that England would be torn by religious factions, while he was attacking her from without, was happily foiled. A British army, of great number, was kept ready to receive the enemy, upon his landing on the English shore. A large body of troops was encamped at Tilbury, a place at the estuary of the river Thames, to protect the capital of the Kingdom. Thither, Elizabeth proceeded, and harangued the troops, in a speech, which Sir James Mackintosh calls "one of the most stirring specimens in existence, of the rhetoric of the camp." The interesting nature of the occasion, and the importance of this branch of rhetoric, which is necessarily more national

than any other, because it aims at producing, upon a large mass of the effective force of the nation, a direct and powerful impression, with a view to immediate action, induce me to give the address of Queen Elizabeth. I shall insert it in Stowe's account, in its proper place.

What would have become of England, if she had been conquered, and how this calamitous event would have affected Europe, no human mind, of course, is able to see; but it would seem certain, that England could never have been kept, for any length of time, under the Spanish sway. It is impossible to retain in subjection a distant dependency, if it be populous, and if the people are animated by a manly spirit, love of independence, and devotion to their endangered or persecuted religion. But the fearful struggles, necessary to expel such an enemy from the country, or perhaps to extirpate him within it, could not have passed, it may be safely said, without leaving a deep impression upon the national character of the English, or perhaps changing it, in some essential traits. Nor can it be doubted, that, had England been conquered, the fate of the Netherlands would have been far different from that which history now records; and that the all-important relation in which those two countries were placed, at the later period of William the Third, could never have subsisted. No human eye can see, how England should have been able, under these different supposed circumstances, to form that nucleus of constitutional law and civil liberty, which was to outlast the period of concentrated and absolute royal power upon the continent of Europe, and from which the European race was to receive again its renewed impulse in the career of constitutional liberty. Every one, therefore, who values civil liberty, will attribute the great victory achieved over the Spaniards, to Him, to whom the Dutch attributed it, when they ordered a medal to be struck, commemorating this great event, with this scroll.

"AFFLAVIT DEUS ET DISSIPATI SUNT."

God breathed, and they were dispersed.*

We ought not to pass, in silence, the elevated manner

* This inscription is not unfrequently cited, as that of an English medal. Van Campen, in his History of the Netherlands, says, that the Dutch medal is to be found, with several others, in Van Loon, Nederlandsche Historiepenningen. It matters little, to whom the device belongs, so that both were animated with the spirit which it expresses.

in which Philip received the news of this disaster and the commanders of this unfortunate expedition. He remained collected, gave orders for the relief of the sick, the wounded, and the orphans, and said: "I armed the fleet against England, not against the fury of the sea; and I bow to the decrees of God."*

John Stowe, or Stow, an annalist at the time of Elizabeth, and from whom the following account is taken, was the son of a merchant-tailor, in London, and born in 1525. About the year 1560, he formed the design of composing annals of the English history; and to this object sacrificed his trade, travelling about, on foot, to collect materials. After having experienced many difficulties, in maintaining himself, while pursuing his favorite studies, he was suspected of Roman Catholicism; and a number of Roman Catholic books being found in his house, when it was searched by the order of the Bishop of London, the character of a disaffected person was fixed upon him. His own brother made use of this suspicion, for the purpose of taking away his life, by preferring one hundred and forty articles against him, before the ecclesiastical commission; but the infamous character of the witnesses saved Stowe. His first book, 'A Summarie of Englishe Chronicles,'† had then already been printed. His 'Survey of London,' &c., appeared in 1598, and has been several times reprinted, forming, as Rees says, the basis of all the subsequent histories of the metropolis. He never was able to publish his large Chronicle, or History of England, for which he had been collecting materials for forty years. He only lived to print an abstract of it, in the year 1600, entitled 'Flores Historiarum, or Annals of England.' Edmund Howes published, from his papers, a folio volume, entitled 'Stow's Chronicle.' Stowe, after the death of his patron, Archbishop Parker, in 1575, was reduced to extreme poverty, and finally sunk into a state of wretched destitution. He petitioned the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London for a pittance, stating, that, for twenty-five years, he had been employed in compiling and publishing divers summaries, recording the memorable acts of famous citizens, but he received nothing. At a later period, when poor Stowe, now in his seventy-eighth year, applied

* Khevenhiller iii. 640. Strada ii. 565.

† First printed in 1565.

to the King for some assistance, merely to protect him against extreme want, James the First granted him a license to repair to churches or other places, to receive the gratuities and charitable benevolence of well-disposed people. I do not know whether we are to understand this as an actual license to beg, as the King's beadsmen were licensed beggars, in Scotland ; or whether Stowe was authorized to receive the money collected at church by the proper officers. We should adopt the latter supposition, were it not that the King can hardly be presumed to have made such a disposition of the money which, no doubt, by custom or law, was already appropriated for parochial purposes. We therefore incline to the first view ; though the meanness of the royal act is greater than we are prepared to find, even in James the First. However, the City of London was no more charitable toward him, than was the King ; and Stowe died, oppressed by poverty and painful diseases, in the year 1605. The reader will soon perceive, that the following account is given in such a style, and with such a selection of words, as prevent us from being absorbed by the subject, because we are perpetually reminded of the Author.

Stowe was neither possessed of any great degree of natural taste, nor had he attained to that greatest and most perfect refinement, as a writer, which consists in being entirely natural and easy, so that the reader is not once reminded of the author's skill or want of skill, except when reflecting upon his power of keeping the mind wholly occupied with the subject, long after the perusal of the composition.

"Although this present yeere, 1587, were but as the vigil of the next ensuing yeere, 1588, concerning which yeere, many ancient and strange prophecies, in divers languages, and many excellent astronomers, of sundry nations, had, in very plain termes, foretold, that the yeere 1588 should be most fatall and ominous unto all estates, concluding in these words, or to the like effect ; namely, 'And if in that yeere, the world doe not perish and utterly decay, yet empires all, and kingdomes after, shall ; and no man to raise himself shall know no way, and that for ever after it shall be called the 'Yeere of Wonder,'" &c., yet, for divers yeeres past, by reason

of the aforesaid generall predictions, all Europe stood at gaze, vehemently expecting more strange and terrible alterations, both in imperiall and regall estates, than ever happened, since the world began. Which sayd universall terror was this present yeere half abated, and plainely discovered that England was the maine subject of that time's operation: for, albeit, the Spanish provision, for three yeeres past, were discerned to be wonderous great, for speciall service, by sea and land, yet used they all possible secrecy concerning their intent, until they were fully furnished.

"The Queene and councell, for two yeeres space, caused the ministers to manifest unto their congregations the furious purpose of the Spanish King, Dukes of Parma and Guyse, with the dangerous dissimulation of the French King, by whose paines and industry the whole communality became of one hearte and mind, and began to retaine a stronger opinion touching the Spaniards settled resolution for the invasion of England, than either Queene or councell. The English nation were so combined in heart, that I here confesse I want art lively to expresse the sympathy of love between the subjects and the Sovereigne.

"This yeere, 1587, being fully spent, and each man's mind, more forward than the Spring, of infinite desire to grapple with the enemie, after many musters, both of horse and foote, and due survey of Englands chiefest strength, to wit, navigation, captaines, commanders, leaders, and fit officers, were appointed unto their severall charges, over all which land forces, Robert, Earle of Leicester, was lord generall, and Henry, Lord Hounsdon, was generall for the Queenes person.

"Cities, counties, townes, and villages, the cinqueports, and all other havens of England, manifested as great forwardnesse, in their zealous love and dutie, as either subjects could perform, or prince expect. To single out the admirable dexterity and bounty of any one particular place, or people, were apparent wrong to all, yet, for a taste of trueth in all, thus much may bee sayd for London. After the councell had demaunded what the citty

would doe in their Prince and countryes right, the Lord maior and aldermen humbly besought their honours to set downe what their wisedomes thought requisite, in such a case: the lords demanded five thousand men and fifteene ships; the city craved two days respite for answere, which was granted, and then entreated their lordships, in signe of their perfect love and loyaltie to their Prince and country, kindly to accept tenne thousand men and thirty shippes, amply furnished. And even as London, London-like, gave precedent, the whole kingdome kept true ranke and equipage.

"The whole nobility, most nobly like themselves, and like planets of the higher orbes, in kind conjunction knit their hearts in one, whose princely valour equalling their love, assured their Soveraigne of triumphant victory."

* The English fleet was divided into two squadrons one under Lord Henry Seymour, of sixteen ships, appointed to watch the narrow seas, and prevent communication between the Armada and the Duke of Parma, then commanding in Flanders; the other stationed on the western coast, to meet their formidable enemy, upon his first approach to the British shore, composed of vessels of all sizes and descriptions, in number from eighty-five to one hundred. Lord Charles Howard, High Admiral of England, commanded in chief; Drake, a name of fear to the Spaniard, was Vice-admiral; and, among many lords and gentlemen, who held subordinate commands, the well-known seamen, Hawkins and Frobisher, filled worthy place and trust. The trainbands, or militia, of the maritime counties, being summoned to be ready for service, on their own coasts, at the earliest warning, two strong armies were collected from the interior, one of two thousand horse and thirty-four thousand foot, for the defence of the Queen's person, and as a disposable force; the other was encamped at Tilbury; and the opposite town of Gravesend being fortified, it was proposed to connect the two banks, and shut up the river by a bridge of boats.

* The passages, not within the quotation marks, are the additions of the Author of 'Historical Parallels,' already several times mentioned.

"It was a pleasant sight, to behold the soldiers, as they marched towards Tilbury, their cheerfull countenances, courageous words and gestures, dauncing and leaping, wheresoever they came; and in the campe, their most felicity was hope of fight with the enemy, where oftimes divers rumours ran of their foes approach, and that present battell would bee given them; then were they as joyfull at such newes, as if lusty giants were to run a race; in this campe, were many old soldiers and right brave commanders, who, although their greatest force did never exceede the number of three thousand horse and fifteen thousand foot, yet there were ready, in all places, many thousands more, to backe and second them, and it was found good policy not on the sudden to keepe too great an army in one place."

"The Queen, now advanced in years,"—these are the words of Mackintosh,—"but unworn by the agitations of a long reign, displayed the chivalrous resolution of youth and manhood; and, by displaying, inspired it. She visited the troops, rode on horseback between the lines, and addressed to the army at Tilbury one of the most stirring specimens in existence, of the rhetoric of the camp.

"'My loving people! We have been persuaded, by some that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery; but I assure you, I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear; I have always so behaved myself, that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good will of my subjects; and therefore I am come amongst you, as you see, at this time, not for my recreation and disport, but being resolved, in the midst and heat of the battle, to live or die amongst you all, to lay down, for my God, and for my kingdoms, and for my people, my honor and my blood, even in the dust. I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman; but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England, too; and think foul scorn that Parma, or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade

the borders of my realm ; to which, rather than any dishonor shall grow by me, I myself will take up arms ; I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know, already, for your forwardness you have deserved rewards and crowns ; and we do assure you, on the word of a prince, they shall be duly paid you. In the mean time, my lieutenant-general shall be in my stead, than whom never prince commanded a more noble or worthy subject ; not doubting, but, by your obedience to my general, by your concord in the camp, and your valor in the field, we shall shortly have a famous victory over those enemies of my God, of my kingdoms, and of my people.' "—We now continue with the extract from Stowe.

" Thus England being in all points furnished and in good readiness for their own defence, I will speake a word or two concerning the Hollanders, then leave them awhile, and report of their adversaries estate and preparation.

" The Hollanders came in roundly, with threescore sayle, brave shippes of war, fierce and full of spleene, not so much for Englands ayd, as in just occasion of their own defence, knowing the originall and ground of this hostility to proceed from themselves, with thirty yeeres continued sharpe warre. These men, foreseeing the greatnesse of the danger that might ensue, if the Spaniards should chance to winne the day, and get the mastery over them, in due regard whereof their manly courage was inferior to none.

" The King of Spaine, after three yeeres deliberate advice, was three yeeres preparing this twofold army in Spain, whereof he made Alphonso Perez, Duke of Medina Sidonia, chiefe generall, and Don Martino Recaldo, of Cantabria, vice-admirall : which army, by the ayde of the clergy, the princes of Italy, as well friends as feodaries, the seven kingdomes in Spain, the entire state of Portugall, together with the help of mariners, pylots, muniton, tackling, and victuall, from the northwest parts of Europe, was now fully furnished, about the middle of May, riding at anchor in the river Tagus, neare Lisbon,

consisting of one hundred and twenty-eight vessels for warre, namely, carricks, galleons, argoseys, and four galliasses, two thousand five hundred and fifty-five pieces of great ordinance, twelve thousand mariners, and twenty thousand land-soldiers, besides voluntaries, vitlers, hospitals, and shippes of artificers to attend them. When the King beheld this mighty host, observing well their matchless strength, and plenteous provision, for sea and land, as well for others as themselves, to wit, oyle, wine, rice, salt, biskit, horses, mules, carts, carriages, powder, shot, saddles, apparell, pickaxes, and shovels, hee sayd, it might well be called the Invincible Army. It was ever meant this army should have been at the Groyne* before this time, to have taken the full advantage of the yeere, for so the Dukes of Guise and Parma did expect, whose preparations, on all points, were in a better readinesse, at the beginning of June, according to the Kings appointment, than they were afterward; for, seeing the Sommer half spent, they doubted whether the King would send his army this yeere, or no; but the King could not help it, for that his ships were furnished in divers ports, and through contrary winds could not be united until this present, so as they were constrained to anchor at Lisbon, where they should have hoysed sail at the Groyne; to wit, about the beginning of June."

The terms of naval architecture just used require some explanation. Carracks, argosies, and galleons, were names for the largest species of sailing vessels in use. Some idea of their size may be formed, from the dimensions of a Portuguese vessel, captured in 1592. Her burden was sixteen hundred tons; she carried thirty-two pieces of brass ordnance, and between six and seven hundred passengers; and was built with decks, seven stories high. She is said to have been in length, from the figure-head to the stern, one hundred and sixty-five feet; in breadth near forty-seven. Carrack was a name given, by the Portuguese, to the vessels built for the Brazil and East-Indian trade: their capacity was chiefly in their

* Corunna.

depth. Galleasses were the largest vessels impelled by oars, and differed from galleys only in their superior size, and in the arrangement of the artillery.

A minute detail of the number and force of the Spanish fleet is given in Charnock's History of Marine Architecture. It appears, that the vessels classed as galleons, mounted from fifty to twenty, or even so few as fifteen, cannon, and the largest of them were from one thousand to sixteen hundred tons burden. The following summary will convey some notion of the size and equipment of the vessels in use, and show the immense superiority of the Spanish over the English force.

Tonnage.	No. of Galleons.	Smaller Vessels.	Guns.	Sailors.	Soldiers.	
7,739 Portuguese squadron	10	2	389	1,242	3,086	
5,861 Biscayan . .	10	4	302	906	2,117	
8,054 Castilian . .	15	2	474	1,793	2,924	
8,692 Andalusian .	10	1	315	776	2,365	
7,192 Guypuiscoan	11	4	296	608	2,120	
8,632 Italian . .	10	0	319	844	2,792	
10,860 Medina . .	0	24	466	930	3,570	
2,090 Mendoza* .	0	25	204	746	1,481	
59,120	66	62	2,765	7,845	20,455	
						Slaves.
Four Neapolitan Galleasses, mounting . . 50 guns each			200	477	744	1,200
Four Portuguese, 50 " "			200	424	440	888
			400	901	1,184	2,088
			2,765	7,845	20,455	
			3,165	8,746	21,639	

The English force is less minutely given: numerically, it was superior to the Spanish, for it consisted of one hundred and seventy-five vessels, besides others classed as victuallers; but the inferiority of the several ships, in size and force, will appear from a comparison of their tonnage and the number of their crews. The largest of the royal navy was of eleven hundred tons: the collective burden of the fleet amounted only to twenty-nine thousand seven hundred and forty-four tons, barely more than half

* This is the classification of the provinces, as given by Charnock.

that of the Spanish navy, and their crews consisted of fourteen thousand five hundred and one men, opposed to a numerical force more than double their number. The number of guns, and weight of metal, of the English fleet, we have not been able to obtain. In this respect, the disproportion was probably even greater. The reader will observe, that we have not taken into account, the Dutch squadron, which did good service in blocking up, in their harbors, the forces collected by the Duke of Parma, but never were opposed to the Spanish fleet.

The Armada, in its passage from Lisbon to the Groyne, was considerably injured, by stress of weather, which still further delayed it ; and, June and July being almost spent, and no appearance of the enemy, it began to be thought, that, for that year, at least, the Spaniards would not come. Many of the volunteers, therefore, being indifferently provided for keeping the sea, dispersed themselves into different harbors, and the Queen, economical, even to parsimony, countenanced this imprudence by recalling from the High-Admiral four of her great ships. Meanwhile, the Duke of Parma had assembled, in Flanders, thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse, and collected, in his ports, three hundred and forty flat-bottomed vessels, great and small, to land his men readily upon an open strand, with store of all necessaries to make good his descent, even in the face of an enemy. The plan of the campaign was this : the Duke of Medina was ordered to steer direct to Flanders, place himself under the command of the Duke of Parma, who, under convoy of the Armada, should disembark in Kent or Essex, as near to London or to the camp as he could. It was also meant, that the Duke of Guise should first have landed in the west, under protection of the Spanish navy, as it passed along, to effect a diversion in favor of the real attack ; while, after the arrival of the Duke of Parma, the fleet, passing northward, was appointed to land in Yorkshire twelve thousand men.

" The Spanish navy having refreshed themselves at Groyne, after twenty-eight days rest, set forward, for England, about the eleventh of July, in the greatest

pompe that eye ever beheld, matchlesse in state, commaunding their passage wheresoever they came, exceedding far the force of those two thousand warlike sayle of great Symeramis,* or the like number at commaund of the Egyptian Cleopatra, or those twelve hundred well-prepared ships, raised by Charles of Fraunce, with like full purpose of invasion, for revenge upon King Richard the Second, for dammage done by his graundsire, Edward the Third, in his French conquest; but this proud navy hath more skilfull guides, and, in the overweening of her strength, sets forward boldly to perform her charge, (though in stealing wise,) as if necessity hadde constrained them to take advantage of home-bred traytors, or ambitious rebels, risen against their state, and not like souldiers, sent in cause of just hostilitie, to encounter with an honourable enemy, without due summons, or defiance unto armes, according to the law of nations.

"The nineteenth of July, the English Admirall, upon direct knowledge of the enemies approach, sends speedy summons unto all the English fleet, who still retained their former courage. The Spaniards, by this time, were entered the mouth of the narrow seas, whose number, state, and strength, being well observed by the Lord Admirall, and rightly considered, that it was now no time to dally or flatter in so imminent daunger, in depth of humane judgement, and discharge of duty to his Prince and country, instantly addressed his letters, by his brother-in-law, Sir Edward Hobby, unto her Majesty, signifying the great difference in power betwixt the English and the Spaniard, and therefore seeing the English navall forces far inferior to the Spanish army, advised the Queene to send more ayde to the sea, and to make ready the chiefe strength of her land forces: at which newes, the Queene forthwith commands more ships to the sea, whereupon,

* This fleet of Semiramis is probably about as real as Shakspeare's seacoast of Bohemia. What the amount of Cleopatra's fleet might be, we do not know; but at Actium, she had only sixty ships. In the last example, Stowe is within bounds. Froissart says, that one thousand two hundred and eighty-seven ships were prepared on this occasion. What sort of cock-boats they were is another question.

yet in voluntary manner, the Earles of Oxford, Northumberland, and Cumberland, Sir Thomas Cecill, Sir Robert Cecill, Sir Walter Rawleigh, Master Thomas Gerrard, Master Arthur Gorge, Sir Thomas Vavasor, and many other honourable personages, were suddenly embarked, committing themselves unto the presant chaunce of warre.

"Gentlemen and yeomen of sundry shires, bordering on the sea, knowing many of the English shippes to bee very weakly furnished with victuall and munition, out of their singular zeale and loyalty, sent cheerefully such provision as they either could make, or was provided for their families; yea, such was the integrity of the English, as the recusants offered their service, and were desirous to take their fortune with the common souldiers.

"The twenty-first of July, the Spaniards came as high as Plimmouth, where divers English shippes lay fast in harbor, the rest gave charge upon the enemie; the Armado then daraines * itselfe into the fashion of the crescent moone; each side prepares themselves speedily to fight with braves and bravadoes, their shrill sounding trumpets, and their ratling drums, lent mutuall courage unto both batalions, and loud thundring canons send swift messengers of death: both armies strive to get advantage of the wind, but the English, beeing much more quick and yare, winne their desire, and Englands Admirall, in person, gave the onset, and for two houres space maintained a valiant fight, untill night drew on, and, wanting forty of the English fleete, which, as yet, could not by any meanes come unto their ayde, they tackt about.

"The next day, the English navy beeing well encreased, gave charge and chase upon the enemie, squadron after squadron, seconding each other like swift horsemen, that could nimbly come and goe, and fetch the wind for most advantage. Now begins the furious fight, on either part, and manly soldiers firmly keepe their stand upon the starboord and larboord side, and, as occasion serves, some cry, keepe aloofe; others, roome, ho! if the seas were calme, it serves the English well to charge upon

* Draws up for battle.

the greatest bulwarke of the Spanish fleete ; and then their galliasses, as sergeants of the band, would issue foorth, sometimes to succour their distressed friends, and otherwhiles with purpose to surprise such English as they saw becalmed, whose kindnesse oft the English with their broadsides would requite, sending their dole until the Spaniards blood ran out at scupper-hole ; but if the wind grew bigge, and billowes played aloft, then the Spaniards, with their lofty towers, make full account to stem the English comming in their way : sometimes, the English, in their eager fight, fell foule upon the daunger of their ennemies, and so continued from the evening unto the breake of day : the Lord High Admirall himselfe was one whole night within the maine battell of the Spanish army : both navies showed great valour, in their daily fight, which commonly continued within the reach of musket-shot, and many times at push of pike, without intermission, save only when, for want of wind, they were restrained : the English chiefetaines ever sought to single out the great commaunders of the Spanish hoste, whose loftie castles held great scorne of their encounter : but whilest both armies were thus conjoyned, Don Pedro de Valdez, a chiefe commaunder of the army, fell fowle upon one of his fellowes, and brake his foremast, who, being maimed and left behind, lay, like a stiffe elephant, in the open field, beset with eager hounds, who, being commaunded to yeelde, sayd, he would yeelde to none but his equal, and asked in whose squadron hee was fallen ; they answered into Drakes squadron ; then he sayd, fetch him, for I will yeelde to none but to a commaunder like myself. Drake, being returned from chasing certain Easterlings, Don Pedro beganne to articulate ; but Drake peremptorily told him, it was now no time to stand upon tearmes of composition, whereupon he yeelded ; having caused all their jewels, plate, money, apparell, with whatever else their present state could any way afford, to be layed open, to prevent the fury of the English, when they came aboord.

" After that, another galleon, by negligence was set on fire, and therewith consumed to the lower decke, un-

der which lay store of gunpowder, never touched. The lord Thomas Howard, pittying their extream misery, but not being able to stay on boord, through extreamity of stench, caused the remainder of those scorched men to be set on shore.

"The Spanish navie, for sixe dayes space, having endured many sharpe fights and fierce assaults, coasting and discoasting from England to the coast of Fraunce, and from thence to England, and then to Fraunce again, the seaven and twentieth of July, towards night, they cast anchor nigh to Callis Roade; the English likewise rid at anchor very neere unto them.

"Now rides the Armada at her wished post, unto whom the Duke of Parma sends present word, that, within three days, their forces should conjoyne, and with first advantage of wind and tyde, transport their armies to the English coast; in meane space they would personally meet, and then determine betweene themselves what was further to be done.

"The Flemings, Walloons, and the French, came thicke and threefolde to behold the fleete, admiring the exceeding greatnesse of their shippes, and warlike order; the greatest kept the outside next the enemie, like strong castles, fearing no assault, the lesser placed in the middleward: fresh victuals straight were brought aboord, captains and cavaliers, for their money, might have what they would, who gave the French so liberally, as within twelve houres an egge was worth sixe pence, besides thanks.

"Whilest this lusty navie, like a demi-conqueror, ryd thus at anchor, the Spanish faction, in sundry nations, had divulged that England was subdued, the Queene taken and sent prisoner over the Alpes to Rome, where, barefoote, shee should make her humble reconciliation, &c.

"In Paris, Don Barnardino de Mendoza, ambassador from Spaine, entred into our lady church, (Nôtre Dame,) advancing his rapier in his right hand, and, with a loud voyce, cryed, 'Victorie, Victorie,' and it was forthwith bruited that England was vanquished. But the next day, when trueth was known of the Armadoes overthrow,

certain pages of adverse faction unto Spain, in bitter scoffing manner, humbly prayed his lordships letters unto the Duke of Parma, in favor of their good fortune, to bestow on them some odde wast cast townes or villages, as London, Canterbury, or York, or so, whereat Mendoza, being much dismayed, obscured himself, not daring to show his face.

"France, Italy, and Germany, were very doubtful of the English state, and in those places the English merchants well perceived their double eye, one while smyling on Spaines behalf, and then upon the English casting a fleering looke.

"The Queenes navy having well observed the martiall order and invincible strength of the Spaniards, and that it was not possible to remove them by force of fight, and therewithall considered the present purpose of the Duke of Parma, and their owne imminent daunger, omitted no time, but according to the present necessity, the Generall, with his councell of warre, concluded to make their first strategem by fire, and thereupon, the twenty-eighth of July, they emptied eight of their basest barkes, and put therein much combustible matter, which, in the evening, were subtilly set on fire, and with advantage both of wind and tyde, guided within the reach of canon shotte, before the Spaniards could discern the same; and then, the flame grew fierce, with sudden terror to the enemie, who thought these floates to have been like the sundry workes of wildfire lately made to break the bridge at Antwerpe, in which feare, they all amazed, with shrikes and loud outcries, to the great astonishment of the neere inhabitants, crying, 'The fire of Antwerpe, the fire of Antwerpe;' some cut cables, others let the hawsers slippe, and happiest they who could first bee gone, though few could telle what course to take.

"The first whereof, that ran aground, was a galliasse, hard by Callis walls, where the English freely tooke the common spoyle, until they began to take the ordinance and to fire the shippe, whereat the governor being sore displeased, knowing the royalty thereof to be appropriate to himselfe, discharged his canons from the citadel, and

drove the English from their benefite. The next was a galleon, which ranne ashoore in Flanders. Divers others fell into the hands of the Hollanders. The rest endeavored, by all meanes possible, to cast anchor before Gravelyn or Dunkerke, hoping still to have supply from Parma.

"But the English forces being now wholly united, prevented their enemies conjoyning together, and followed their fortunes to the uttermost, continuing four dayes fight in more deadly manner than at any time before, and, having incessant cause of fresh encouragement, chased the Spaniards, from place to place, until they hadde driven them into a desperate estate; so as of necessity, as well for that the wind was westerly, as that their enemies increased, and their own provision of sayles, anchors, and cables greatly wasted, resolved to shape their course by the Orcades and the north of Ireland. In whose pursuit, if the English had been but meanly furnished with victuall and munition, they would have brought them all unto their mercy; but when they saw them past the Orcades and the Scottish seas, they made retreat. And, if the Spaniards had but two days longer continued fight, the English must have made a retreat, for want of shot and powder, and left the Spaniards to their most advantage.

"About the end of September, the Duke of Medina arrived in Spaine, being as much discountenanced at court, as discouraged in his journey; and, of all his royall navy which he carried foorth, there returned only threescore sayle, sore distressed; the rest whereof, some were taken and spoyled by the English, in the narrow seas, and some taken by the Hollanders, and some made a fayre escape by landing in Scotland: but the most perished upon the Irish coast, and slaine by Gallowglasses, whose generall losse was much lamented through Spaine, for that every noted family had lost a kinsman or a neere ally.

"Shippes under the command of the Lord High Admirall of England, this yeere, 1588:

Of shippes Royal,	17
Attended by other warlike ships,	12
And of lusty pinnaces,	6
From London there were sent, of brave, warlike ships,	16
And of pinnaces,	4
From Bristow there were sent, of serviceable ships,	3
And one pinnace,	1
From Barstaple there were sent, in this expedition, of ships,	3
From Excester there were sent, of ships,	2
And one pinnace,	1
From Plimmouth there were sent, of ships well appointed,	7
And one flye boat,	1

"There was sent a pinnace of the Lord Admiralls; also, a pinnace of the Lord Sheffields, and a pinnace of Sir William Winters.*

"The merchant adventurers of England set foorth, at their own proper charges, of lusty ships,—10.

"Ships under the Lord Henry Seymour, in the narrow seas:—Of ships royall, accompanied with other very warlike ships, well appointed, being in number,—16.

"Besides all these, there were many other barkes, ships, and pinnaces, sent out of the north parts and west parts, as also particularly by divers persons, as by the Lord Admirall, by divers other lordes, knights, and gentlemen, and some others his followers, and by sundry other noble and vallerous gentlemen and gallant marchants, whereof I could never attaine the certaine knowledge, though I greatly sought it."

The partisans of the two contending nations differ widely, as is to be expected, in their estimates of the loss sustained. The victors said, that eighty vessels and eighteen thousand men had perished: Strada rates it at thirty-two captured and wrecked, and ten thousand men: but he acknowledges that the result of the expedition filled all Spain with mourning.

* A pinnace is a small vessel navigated with oars and sails.

THE SIEGE OF ZARAGOZA, IN 1808.

BY SOUTHEY AND NAPIER.

In general, it may be said, that modern sieges have lost much of their interest, except for the scientific soldier; because the art of the engineer has reduced them, placing external relief out of consideration, almost to certainty. Still, there have been sieges, in modern times, in which was displayed all the heroic perseverance that has distinguished the defenders of fortified places, at any previous period.* We find a number of them in the history of the war, termed the Peninsular War, which was carried on in Spain and Portugal, in the beginning of the present century, between the English, Spaniards, and Portuguese, on the one side, and the French, on the other. In most of them, we find remarkable instances, both of military resolution and of popular energy; and it is not easy to make a selection of the most interesting of them. For several reasons, however, the Siege of Zaragoza† has been selected, and is here given.

The two authors, from whose works the following accounts are taken, are both living in England. Colonel Napier shared in the perils of the war which he has described; and Mr. Southey is so renowned an author, that most readers are, no doubt, in possession of more information respecting him, than could be given here.

"Zaragoza is situated on the right bank of the Ebro. Before its first siege, in 1808, it contained fifty thousand inhabitants. It possessed no regular defences, and few guns, fit for service, but was surrounded by a low brick

* At the beginning of the year 1840, a violent attack, made by several thousand Arabs, upon about one hundred and sixty French soldiers, at a place called Mazagran, in Algiria, was sustained for several days, with a degree of fortitude, which has been acknowledged in a signal and lasting manner, both by the King of the French, and the French Chambers.

† *Zaragoza* is a contraction and corruption of the Latin Caesarea Augusta. By another corruption, the name of Syracuse was formerly changed into Zaragoza, so that we find it spoken of as "the Sicilian Saragossa."

wall. These deficiencies were in some degree remedied, by the nature of its buildings, which were well calculated for the internal warfare subsequently carried on, the houses being mostly built of brick and stone, and vaulted, so as to be almost incombustible. The city was also full of churches and convents, strongly built, and surrounded by high, thick walls. A broad street, called the Cosso, bent almost into a semicircle, concentric with the wall, and terminated, at each end, by the Ebro, divided the city into an outer and an inner part. It occupied the ground on which the Moorish walls had formerly stood, before the city attained its present size. This street was the scene of that heroic resistance, in 1808, which kept the French at bay, after the walls and one half of the place had fallen into their hands. On the third of August, rather more than a month after the commencement of the siege, the convent of St. Engracia, which formed part of the wall, was breached; and, on the fourth, it was stormed, and the victorious troops carried all before them, as far as the Cosso, and, before night, were in possession of one half of the city. The French General now considered the city as his own, and summoned it to surrender, in a note containing only these words: "Head-quarters, St. Engracia, Capitulation." The emphatic reply is well known, and will become proverbial: "Head-quarters, Zaragoza, War to the Knife."

"The contest, which was now carried on, is unexampled in history. One side of the Cosso, a street about as wide as Pall Mall, was possessed by the French, and in the centre of it, their general, Verdier, gave his orders from the Franciscan convent. The opposite side was maintained by the Aragonese, who threw up batteries at the openings of the cross streets, within a few paces of those which the French erected against them. The intervening space was presently heaped with dead, either slain upon the spot, or thrown out from the windows. Next day, the ammunition of the citizens began to fail: the French were expected, every moment, to renew their efforts for completing the conquest, and even this circumstance occasioned no dismay, nor did any one think of capitulation. One cry was heard from the people,

whenever Palafox* rode amongst them, that, if powder failed, they were ready to attack the enemy with their knives,—formidable weapons, in the hands of desperate men. Just before the day closed, Don Francisco Palafox, the general's brother, entered the city, with a convoy of arms and ammunition, and a reenforcement of three thousand men, composed of Spanish guards, Swiss, and volunteers of Aragon,—a succor as little expected by the Zaragozans, as it had been provided against by the enemy.

"The war was now continued, from street to street, from house to house, and from room to room; pride and indignation having wrought up the French to a pitch of obstinate fury, little inferior to the devoted courage of the patriots. During the whole siege, no man distinguished himself more remarkably, than the curate of one of the parishes within the walls, by name, P. Santiago Suss. He was always to be seen in the streets; sometimes, fighting with the most determined bravery; at other times, administering the sacrament to the dying, and confirming, with the authority of faith, that hope, which gives to death, under such circumstances, the joy, the exaltation, the triumph, and the spirit, of martyrdom. Palafox reposed the utmost confidence in the brave Priest, and selected him when any thing peculiarly difficult or hazardous was to be done. At the head of forty chosen men, he succeeded in introducing into the town a supply of powder, so essentially necessary for its defence.

"This most obstinate and murderous conflict was continued, for eleven successive days and nights, more indeed by night, than by day; for it was almost certain death to appear, by daylight, within reach of those houses which were occupied by the other party. But, under cover of the darkness, the combatants frequently dashed across the street, to attack each other's batteries; and the battles, which began there, were often carried on into the houses beyond, where they fought from room

* The General of the Zaragozans.—I.

to room, and from floor to floor. The hostile batteries were so near each other, that a Spaniard, in one place, made way under cover of the dead bodies, which completely filled the space between them, and fastened a rope to one of the French cannons; in the struggle which ensued, the rope broke, and the Zaragozans lost their prize, at the very moment when they thought themselves sure of it.

"A new horror was added to the dreadful circumstances of war, in this ever-memorable siege. In general engagements, the dead are left upon the field of battle, and the survivors removed to clear ground and an untainted atmosphere: but here, in Spain, and in the month of August, where the dead lay, the struggle was still carried on, and pestilence was dreaded, from the enormous accumulation of putrefying bodies. Nothing, in the whole course of the siege, so much embarrassed Palafox, as this evil. The only remedy was, to tie ropes to the French prisoners, and push them forward, amid the dead and dying, to remove the bodies, and bring them away for interment. Even for this necessary office there was no truce, and it would have been certain death to the Aragonese, who should have attempted to perform it: but the prisoners were, in general, secured by the pity of their own soldiers, and in this manner the evil was, in some degree, diminished.

"A council of war was held by the Spaniards, on the eighth, not for the purpose which is too usual in such councils, but that their heroic resolution might be communicated to the people. It was, that, in those quarters of the city, where the Aragonese still maintained their ground, they should continue to defend themselves, with the same firmness. Should the enemy at last prevail, they were then to retire over the Ebro, into the suburbs, break down the bridge, and defend the suburbs, till they perished. When this resolution was made public, it was received with the loudest acclamations. But, in every conflict, the citizens now gained ground upon the soldiers, winning it, inch by inch, till the space occupied by the enemy, which, on the day of their entrance, was

nearly half the city, was reduced, gradually, to about an eighth part. Mean-time, intelligence of the events, in other parts of Spain, was received by the French, all tending to dishearten them. During the night of the thirteenth, their fire was particularly fierce and destructive ; in the morning, the French columns, to the great surprise of the Spaniards, were seen at a distance, retreating over the plain, on the road to Pampeluna."*

Zaragoza, however, was a place of too much importance, long to enjoy, in quiet, her hard-earned laurels. In the course of the Autumn, the French recovered their superiority, in Aragon ; and had no sooner done so, than they bent their strength to repair the disgrace which their arms had sustained, and overthrow the firmest bulwark of independence in the western provinces of Spain. The inhabitants, aware that their heroic resistance had purchased only a temporary deliverance, employed the intervening time in repairing and improving their external defences ; and still more so, in preparing to renew, to greater advantage, that internal conflict in which experience had shown their real strength to exist.

"It has already been observed, that the houses of Zaragoza were fire-proof, and, generally, of only two stories ; and that, in all the quarters of the city, the numerous and massive convents and churches rose, like castles, above the low buildings ; and that the greater streets, running into the broadway, called the Cosso, divided the town into a variety of districts, unequal in size, but each containing one or more large structures. Now the citizens, sacrificing all personal convenience, and resigning all idea of private property, gave up their goods, their bodies, and their houses, to the war ; and, being promiscuously mingled with the peasantry and the regular soldiers, the whole formed one mighty garrison, well suited to the vast fortress into which Zaragoza was transformed : for the doors and windows of the houses were built up, and their fronts loopholed ; internal com-

* Southey, History Peninsular War, Chap. ix.

munications were broken through the party-walls, and the streets were trenched and crossed by earthen ramparts mounted with cannon, and every strong building was turned into a separate fortification. There was no weak point, because there could be none, in a town which was all fortress, and where the space covered by the city was the measurement for the thickness of the ramparts; nor, in this emergency, were the leaders unmindful of moral force.

"The people were cheered, by a constant reference to their former successful resistance; their confidence was raised, by the contemplation of the vast works that had been executed; and it was recalled to their recollection, that the wet, usual at that season of the year, would spread disease among the enemy's ranks, and impair, if not entirely frustrate, his efforts. Neither was the aid of superstition neglected. Processions imposed upon the sight, false miracles bewildered the imagination, and terrible denunciations of Divine wrath shook the minds, of men whose former habits and present situation rendered them peculiarly susceptible of such impressions. Finally, the leaders were themselves so prompt and terrible, in their punishments, that the greatest cowards were likely to show the boldest bearing, in their wish to escape suspicion.

"To avoid the danger of any great explosion, the powder was made, as occasion required; and this was the more easily effected, because Zaragoza contained a royal depot and refinery for saltpetre, and there were powdermills in the neighborhood, which furnished workmen familiar with the process of manufacturing that article. The houses and trees beyond the walls were all demolished and cut down, and the materials carried into the town. The public magazines contained six months' provisions; the convents were well stocked; and the inhabitants had likewise laid up their own stores for several months. General Doyle had also sent a convoy into the town, from the side of Catalonia; and there was abundance of money, because, in addition to the resources of the town, the military chest of Castanos's army, which

had been supplied only the night before the battle of Tudela, had been, in the flight, carried into the town.

"Companies of women, enrolled to attend the hospitals, and to carry provisions and ammunition to the combatants, were commanded by the Countess Burita, a lady of an heroic disposition, who is said to have displayed the greatest intelligence and the noblest character, during both sieges. There were thirteen engineer officers, and eight hundred sappers and miners, composed of excavators, formerly employed on the canal, and there were from fifteen hundred to two thousand cannoneers.

"The regular troops that fled from Tudela, being joined by two small divisions which retreated, at the same time, from Sanguessa and Caparosa, formed a garrison of thirty thousand men, and, together with the inhabitants and peasantry, presented a mass of fifty thousand combatants, who, with passions excited almost to frenzy, awaited an assault, amidst those mighty entrenchments, where each man's home was a fortress, and his family a garrison. To besiege, with only thirty-five thousand men a city so prepared, was truly a gigantic undertaking."*

It was on December 20, 1808, that Marshals Moncey and Mortier appeared in front of the town. We pass over the early part of the siege, which contains nothing to distinguish it from a multitude of others. The French, supported by a powerful battering and mortar train, advanced their trenches slowly towards the town, until the twenty-second of January, when Marshal Lasnes arrived, to assume the command. On the twenty-ninth, four breaches were declared practicable. That night, four columns rushed to the assault; one was repulsed, the other three established themselves; and the ramparts of the city became the front line of the French trenches.

"The walls of Zaragoza thus went to the ground, but Zaragoza herself remained erect; and, as the broken girdle fell from the heroic city, the besiegers started, at the view of her naked strength. The regular defences had indeed crumbled, before the skill of the assailants,

* Napier's History of the Peninsular War, Book V. Chap. ii.

but the popular resistance was immediately called, with its terrors, into action. * * * * * * * * * * * * * * The war being now carried into the streets of Zaragoza, the sound of the alarmbell was heard over all the quarters of the city, and the people, assembling in crowds, filled the houses nearest to the lodgements made by the French. Additional traverses and barricadoes were constructed across the principal streets ; mines were prepared in the more open spaces ; and the communications from house to house were multiplied, until they formed a vast labyrinth, of which the intricate windings were only to be traced by the weapons and the dead bodies of the defenders. The members of the Junta, become more powerful from the cessation of regular warfare, with redoubled activity and energy urged the defence, but increased the horrors of the siege, by a ferocity pushed to the very verge of frenzy. Every person, without regard to rank or age, who excited the suspicion of these furious men, or those immediately about them, was instantly put to death ; and, amid the noble bulwarks of war, a horrid array of gibbets was to be seen, on which, crowds of wretches were suspended, each night, because their courage had sunk beneath the accumulating dangers of their situation, or because some doubtful expression, or gesture of distress, had been misconstrued by their barbarous chiefs.

"From the heights of the walls, which he had conquered, Marshal Lasnes contemplated this terrific scene ; and, judging that men so passionate and so prepared, could not be prudently encountered, in open battle, he resolved to proceed by the slow but certain progress of the mattock and the mine ; and this was also in unison with the Emperor's instructions. Hence, from the twenty-ninth of January to the second of February, the efforts of the French were directed to the enlargement of their lodgement on the walls ; and they succeeded, after much severe fighting and several explosions, in working forward, through the nearest houses ; but, at the same time, they had to sustain many counter-assaults from the Spaniards.

"It has been already observed, that the crossing of the large streets divided the town into certain small districts, or islands of houses. To gain possession of these, it was necessary, not only to mine, but to fight for each house. To cross the large intersecting streets, it was indispensable to construct traverses above, or to work by underground galleries, because a battery raked each street, and each house was defended by a garrison, that, generally speaking, had only the option of repelling the enemy in front, or dying on the gibbet erected behind. But, as long as the convents and churches remained in possession of the Spaniards, the progress of the French, among the islands of small houses, was of little advantage to them, because the large garrisons, in the greater buildings, enabled the defenders not only to make continual and successful sallies, but also to countermine their enemies, whose superior skill, in that kind of warfare, was often frustrated, by the numbers and persevering energy of the besieged. * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

"The experience of these attacks* induced a change in the mode of fighting, on both sides. Hitherto, the play of the French mines had reduced the houses to ruins, and thus the soldiers were exposed completely to the fire from the next Spanish posts. The engineers therefore diminished the quantity of powder, that the interior only might fall, and the outward walls stand, and this method was found successful. Hereupon, the Spaniards, with ready ingenuity, saturated the timbers and planks of the houses, with rosin and pitch, and, setting fire to those which could no longer be maintained, interposed a burning barrier, which often delayed the assailants for two days, and always prevented them from pushing their successes, during the confusion that necessarily followed the bursting of the mines. The fighting was, however, incessant; a constant bombardment, the explosion of mines, the crash of falling buildings, clamorous shouts, and the continued echo of musketry, deafened

* Attempts made by the French to force their way into the centre of the city, from the twenty-ninth of January to the second of February.

the ear, while volumes of smoke and dust clouded the atmosphere, and lowered, continually, over the heads of the combatants, as, hour by hour, the French, with a terrible perseverance, pushed forwards their approaches to the heart of the miserable but glorious city.

"Their efforts were chiefly directed against two points; namely, that of San Engracia, which may be denominated the left attack, and that of St. Augustin and St. Monica, which constituted the right attack. At San Engracia, they labored on a line perpendicular to the Cosso, from which they were separated only by the large convent of the Daughters of Jerusalem, and by the hospital for madmen, which was intrenched, although in ruins since the first siege. The line of this attack was protected, on the left, by the convent of the Capuchins, which General Lacoste had fortified, to repel the counter-assaults of the Spaniards. The right attack was more diffused, because the localities presented less prominent features, to determine the direction of the approaches; and the French, having mounted a number of light six-inch mortars, on peculiar carriages, drew them from street to street, and from house to house, as occasion offered. On the other hand, the Spaniards continually plied their enemies with handgrenades, which seem to have produced a surprising effect; and, in this manner, the never-ceasing combat was prolonged, until the seventh of February, when the besiegers, by dint of alternate mines and assaults, had worked their perilous way, at either attack, to the Cosso, but not without several changes of fortune and considerable loss. They were, however, unable to obtain a footing on that public walk, for the Spaniards still disputed every house, with undiminished resolution. * * * * * * * * * * * *

"The eighth, ninth, and tenth, were wasted by the besiegers, in vain attempts to pass the Cosso; they then extended their flanks. * * * The eleventh and twelfth, mines were worked under the University, a large building on the Spanish side of the Cosso, in the line of the right attack; but their play was insufficient to open the walls, and the storming party was beaten with the loss of fifty men. Nevertheless, the besiegers, continuing their la-

bors during the thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth, passed the Cosso, by means of traverses, and prepared fresh mines under the University, but deferred their explosion, until a simultaneous effort could be combined on the side of the suburb.

"At the left attack, also, a number of houses, bordering on the Cosso, being gained, a battery was established, that raked that great thoroughfare above ground; while, under it, six galleries were carried, and six mines loaded, to explode at the same moment. But the spirit of the French army was now exhausted; they had labored and fought, without intermission, for fifty days; they had crumbled the walls with their bullets, burst the convents with their mines, and carried the walls with their bayonets. Fighting above and beneath the surface of the earth, they had spared neither fire nor the sword; their bravest men were falling, in the obscurity of a subterranean warfare; famine pinched them; and Zaragoza was still unconquered!

"'Before this siege,' they exclaimed, 'was it ever heard, that twenty thousand men should besiege fifty thousand?' Scarcely a fourth of the town was won, and they, themselves, were already exhausted. 'We must wait,' they said, 'for reenforcements, or we shall all perish, among these cursed ruins, which will become our own tombs, before we can force the last of these fanatics from the last of their dens.'

"Marshal Lasnes, unshaken by these murmurs, and obstinate to conquer, endeavored to raise the soldiers' hopes. He pointed out to them, that the losses of the besieged so far exceeded their own, that the Spaniards' strength must soon be wasted, and their courage must sink, and that the fierceness of their defence was already abated: but if, contrary to expectation, they should renew the example of Numantia, their utter destruction must quickly ensue, from the combined effects of battle, misery, and pestilence.

"These exhortations succeeded; and, on the eighteenth, all the combinations being complete, a general assault took place. The French at the right attack,

having opened a party-wall by the explosion of a petard, made a sudden rush through some burning ruins, and carried, without a check, the island of houses leading down to the quay, with the exception of two buildings. The Spaniards were thus forced to abandon all the external fortifications between St. Augustin and the Ebro, which they had preserved until that day. And, while this assault was in progress, the mines under the University, containing three thousand pounds of powder, were sprung; and the walls tumbling with a terrific crash, a column of the besiegers entered the place, and, after one repulse, secured a lodgement. During this time, fifty pieces of artillery thundered upon the suburb, and ploughed up the bridge over the Ebro, and, by mid-day, opened a practicable breach in the great convent of St. Lazar, which was the principal defence on that side. Lasnes, observing that the Spaniards seemed to be shaken, by this overwhelming fire, immediately ordered an assault; and, St. Lazar being carried, forthwith, all retreat to the bridge was thus intercepted, and the besieged, falling into confusion, and their commander, Baron Versage, being killed, were all destroyed or taken, with the exception of two or three hundred men, who, braving the terrible fire to which they were exposed, got back into the town. General Gazan immediately occupied the abandoned works; and, having thus cut off above two thousand men that were stationed on the Ebro, above the suburb, forced them, also, to surrender.

"This important success being followed, on the nineteenth, by another fortunate attack on the right bank of the Ebro, and by the devastating explosion of sixteen hundred pounds of powder, the constancy of the besieged was at last shaken. An aid-de-camp of Palafox came forth, to demand certain terms, before offered by the Marshal, adding thereto, that the garrison should be allowed to join the Spanish armies, and that a certain number of covered carriages should follow them. Lasnes rejected these proposals, and the fire continued, but the hour of surrender was come. Fifty pieces of artillery, on the left bank of the Ebro, laid the houses on the quay in

ruins. The church of Our Lady of the Pillar, under whose especial protection the city was supposed to exist, was nearly effaced by the bombardment; and the six mines under the Cosso, loaded with many thousand pounds of powder, were ready for a simultaneous explosion, which would have laid a quarter of the remaining houses in the dust. In fine, war had done its work, and the misery of Zaragoza could no longer be endured.

"The bombardment, which had never ceased from the tenth of January, had forced the women and children to take refuge in the vaults, with which the city abounded. There, the constant combustion of oil, the closeness of the atmosphere, unusual diet, and fear and restlessness of mind, had combined to produce a pestilence, which soon spread to the garrison. The strong and weak, the daring soldier and the timid child, alike fell before it; and such was the state of the atmosphere, and the disposition to disease, that the slightest wound gangrened, and became incurable. In the beginning of February, the deaths were from four to five hundred, daily; the living were unable to bury the dead; and thousands of carcasses, scattered about the streets and court-yards, or piled in heaps, at the doors of the churches, were left to dissolve, in their own corruption, or to be licked up by the flames of the burning houses, as the defence became contracted.

"The suburb, the greatest portion of the walls, and one-fourth of the houses, were in the hands of the French. Sixteen thousand shells, thrown during the bombardment, and the explosion of forty-five thousand pounds of powder, in the mines, had shaken the city to its foundations; and the bones of more than forty thousand persons, of every age and sex, bore dreadful testimony to the constancy of the besieged.

"Palafox was sick; and, of the plebeian chiefs, the most distinguished having been slain in battle, or swept away by the pestilence, the obdurate violence of the remaining leaders was so abated, that a fresh Junta was formed; and, after a stormy consultation, the majority

being for a surrender, a deputation waited on Marshal Lasnes on the twentieth of February, to negotiate a capitulation."*

Some doubt exists, as to the terms obtained. The French writers assert, that the place surrendered at discretion; the Spaniards say, the following conditions were obtained: that the garrison should march out with the honors of war, to be constituted prisoners, and marched to France; the peasants to be sent home, and property and religion to be guarantied. On the twenty-first, from twelve to fifteen thousand sickly men laid down the arms which they could scarcely support, and this memorable Siege was terminated.

* Napier, History of Peninsular War, Book V. chap. iii.

GLOSSARY

OF WORDS AND PHRASES NOT EASILY TO BE UNDERSTOOD BY THE YOUNG READER.

[Many names of persons and places, terms of art, &c., which occur in this Volume, will be found explained in one of the places where they occur. For these, see INDEX.]

Aarau, (or *Arau*,) the capital of *Aargau*, one of the cantons (or districts) of Switzerland.

Aarberg, (or *Arberg*,) a town of Switzerland, in the canton of Berne, on the River Aar.

Aargau, (or *Argau*,) one of the cantons (or districts) of Switzerland, formerly a part of the cantons of Berne and Zurich.

Academy, the French, a literary society, in Paris, formed A. D. 1629, consisting of forty members, styled *academicians*. Its object is the cultivation of literature and criticism. The *Memoirs* of the Academy are collections of papers, on various subjects, contributed by its members, and published from time to time.

Acarnania, (now called Carnia,) a country in the northwestern part of ancient Greece, west of Ætolia, and bordering on the Ionian Sea.

Accessor, (or, in Latin, *accensus*,) an officer, whose business it was to attend upon the judicial magistrates in ancient Rome; a messenger, pursuivant, or beadle.

Achaia, properly, a narrow district of the Peloponnesus, (now called the Morea,) lying south of the Gulf of Corinth, (now the Gulf of Lepanto.) The term was sometimes applied to the whole of Greece, and sometimes, as by Herodotus, (page 11,) to the southern part of Thessaly, called Phthiotis.

Achilles, one of the Grecian heroes, who fought at the siege of Troy, and who is celebrated in the Iliad of Homer. He was remarkable for his courage, and also for having been the bravest of all the Grecks in the Trojan war. He is said to have been, while an infant, dipped by his mother in the River Styx, which rendered him invulnerable, (or incapable of being hurt,) in every part except the heel, by which she held him. At the siege of Troy he received a wound in the heel, which caused his death. He severely wounded Telephus, King of Mysia, in battle, and it being declared, by an Oracle, that "the weapon alone, which had inflicted the wound, could cure it," Achilles applied the rust from the point of his spear to the sore, which is said to have given it immediate relief, and effected a cure. It is to this circumstance, that Pope Clement alluded, when, as mentioned on page 263, he compared Cardinal Colonna to "the lance of Achilles."

Actium, (now called Azio,) a promontory on the western coast of

Greece, famous as the scene of a naval battle between Octavius and Antony, B. C. 31. Cleopatra was on the side of Antony, but fled, with her sixty ships, shortly after the action commenced, and was followed by Antony ; leaving the victory to Octavius.

Ægean Sea, the ancient name of the sea lying between the coasts of Greece and Asia Minor. From a corruption of the word *Ægæopelago*, the modern Greek pronunciation of *Αἰγαῖον Πέλαγος*, (the Ægean Sea,) comes the word *Archipelago*, which is applied to any sea abounding in small islands, or to the groups of islands themselves. It is more particularly applied, however, to those of the *Ægean* Sea.

Ægina, (now called Engia,) an island in the Saronic gulf, (now gulf of Engia,) lying west of the southern point of Attica.

Æschylus, the most ancient of the tragic poets of Greece, was born B. C. 525, and lived to the age of seventy years. His works are marked by a stern and simple grandeur. Of as many as seventy tragedies, written by him, only seven are now extant. In the earlier part of his life, Æschylus was a soldier, and fought in the battles of Marathon and Salamis.

Æsculapius, in the ancient mythology, was the god of medicine, and a son of Apollo. He is usually represented as holding a staff, round which is entwined a serpent, the emblem of convalescence ; and near him stands a cock, the emblem of watchfulness.

Afrasiab, an ancient Tartar prince, son of Pushung, King of Turan. He invaded Persia, and became King of that country, which he ruled for twelve years ; after which, he suffered many reverses, being driven from Persia, defeated in several battles, and finally captured, and put to death by order of the Persian monarch, Kai Khosroo. He is supposed to have flourished between B. C. 600 and 700.

Aga, the title of a Turkish military officer, a captain.

Ajaccio, the capital of Corsica, and the birthplace of Napoleon Bonaparte.

Alba, (or *alb*,) a white linen vestment, resembling a surplice, anciently worn by the clergy in the administration of the Holy Communion.

Alpnach, a town of Switzerland, in the canton of Berne.

Altdorff, (or Altorf,) the chief town in the canton of Uri, in Switzerland.

Amphyction, an ancient Grecian king, the founder of the Council of the Amphyctions, an assembly composed of deputies from the states of Greece, who had their '*seats*,' or place of assembly, first at Delphi, and afterwards at the village of Anthela, near Thermopylæ. This Council took cognizance of public dissensions between states and cities, and of various civil and criminal offences.

Analecta Veterum Poetarum Græcorum, Fragments from the Ancient Greek Poets.

Anatolia, (or Natolia,) anciently called *Asia Minor*, a country lying between the Grecian Archipelago on the west, the Black Sea on the north, Armenia and Syria on the east, and the Mediterranean on the south.

Antias, (Latin,) an inhabitant of Antium, a city of ancient Italy, on the Mediterranean. *Valerius Antias*, or Valerius of Antium, was

an ancient historian, frequently cited by Livy, but none of his works have come down to us.

Anticyra, a city in Thessaly, the situation of which is described on page 11.

Antiochus (the Great) became King of Syria, B. C. 244. Having been victorious against various other nations, he made war against the Romans, but was unsuccessful, and was obliged to conclude a humiliating peace.

Apollodorus, a friend of Socrates.

Apology, a defence of one who is accused. 'Plato's Apology' is a defence of Socrates from the unjust charges brought against him, and Socrates is introduced in it, speaking in his own person.

Apparitor, a general name, applied to any attendant upon, or public servant of, a Roman magistrate.

Apropos, (French,) opportunely ; to the purpose.

Apulia, a country of ancient Italy, lying upon the Adriatic Sea, (now Gulf of Venice.)

Arcadia, a mountainous country of ancient Greece, in the central part of the Peloponnesus.

Archipelago, see *Ægean Sea.*

Argau, see *Aargau.*

Arginusæ, the name of some islands in the Ægean Sea, near the coast of Asia Minor, near which a naval battle was fought between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, B. C. 405, in which the former were victorious. But the Athenian generals, being prevented by a storm from taking up the dead bodies in order to their interment, drew upon themselves the resentment of their countrymen, and were accused of wilfully neglecting what was considered a sacred duty to the dead. They were recalled from their command, and the six generals who returned to Athens, were tried before the people, on this unjust charge, and were condemned, and executed.

Ariosto, a celebrated Italian poet, born in 1474. His great work is the 'Orlando Furioso,' an epic poem, in forty-six cantos, written with great liveliness of narration and richness of invention, and which is ranked by the Italians among the masterpieces of their literature. He died at the age of fifty-eight.

Aristides, an Athenian, who was one of the generals at the battle of Marathon, B. C. 490, and commanded at the battle of Platææ, B. C. 479. He was remarkable for his strict integrity, in which his fellow-citizens, on various occasions, manifested their entire confidence, and he bore, in Athens, the surname of 'the Just.'

Aristophanes, a comic poet, of Athens, who flourished in the fifth century before Christ. His comedies (eleven of which, out of fifty-four, now remain) were greatly admired by the Athenians, for the richness of their wit, and the polished grace of the style in which they were composed. To modern taste, they appear gross and immoral. Agreeably to the freedom of ancient comedy, persons living at the time were brought upon the stage by name, and made the subjects of the most unbridled sarcasm. Thus Socrates was one of the 'persons of the drama' in the comedy of 'the Clouds,' which is devoted to the ridicule of himself and his school.

Aristotle, one of the most celebrated philosophers of Greece, who was born B. C. 384, at Stagira, in Macedonia, (whence he is often termed 'the Stagirite.') He went to Athens, at the age of eighteen years, and remained there twenty years, a pupil of Plato, and himself the master of a school of rhetoric. He was afterwards the tutor of Alexander the Great, and, after the accession of Alexander to the throne of Macedon, repaired to Athens, where he opened a school of philosophy at the *Lyceum*, a gymnasium near Athens. He left Athens to escape prosecution on a charge of atheism, and shortly after destroyed himself by poison. Various works of this philosopher yet remain, on political and moral science, and natural history.

Arquebuss, (or harquebuss,) one of the earliest forms of firearms, of the ordinary length of a musket, and carrying a ball of about two ounces. Soldiers armed with it were called *arquebusiers*.

Aragonese, inhabitants of *Aragon*, formerly a distinct kingdom in the northeastern part of Spain. In 1474, it was united with Castile, another of the chief divisions of Spain, by the marriage of Ferdinand, King of Aragon, with Isabella, Queen of Castile; and they, by the conquest of the Moors, who then possessed the southern part of Spain, became subsequently Sovereigns of the whole Spanish territory.

Art, a town in Switzerland, in the canton of Schwytz, at the southern extremity of Lake Zug.

Asia Minor, see *Anatolia*.

Astrology, an art, which pretends to foretell future events, especially the fate of men, from the position of the stars.

Athens, the most renowned city of ancient Greece, was the capital of Attica, a country lying in the eastern part of Greece, on the shores of the Ægean Sea. It was remarkable for the magnificence of its public buildings, and for the beautiful works of art which adorned them. It was the resort of poets, artists, and philosophers, and abounded in schools of philosophy and rhetoric. Athens is still interesting, for the remains of ancient architecture found there, in a more or less perfect state of preservation, and is the seat of the present government of Greece.

Atmeidan, (horse-place,) the name given by the Turks to the Hippodrome at Constantinople. *Hippodrome* (horse-course) is a Greek word, signifying a public place where horse and chariot races were held. That at Constantinople was remarkable for its splendor, being adorned with numerous beautiful works of sculpture; many relics of which exist at the present day.

Attabals, Turkish musical instruments.

Attica, a country of Greece, forming a kind of triangular peninsula at the southeastern point of that part of Greece north of the Peloponnesus, or Morea. Athens was its capital.

Augury, the prediction of future events, by signs derived from various appearances of Nature, and particularly the flight of birds.

Augustines, an order of monks and nuns, established in the thirteenth century, and named after St. Augustine, who was one of the most renowned fathers of the Christian Church, and lived in the fourth century. Before the Reformation, this order possessed two thous-

and convents, containing thirty thousand monks, and three hundred nunneries. Luther was a monk of this order.

Auricular confession, the disclosure of sins to a priest, with a view to obtain pardon for them, a practice of the Roman Catholic Church. The priest enjoins a *penance*, (or self-inflicted punishment,) proportioned to the magnitude of the offence. The priest, hearing confession, is styled a *confessor*.

Auvergne, formerly a large and important province, in the interior of France.

Ave Maria, the name of a Latin prayer to Mary, the mother of Jesus, much used in the Roman Catholic Church, and commencing with the words, *Ave, Maria!* (Hail, Mary !)

Avon, the name of four different rivers in England. Two of them flow into the Severn ; at the town of Stratford, on one of which, Shakspeare was born.

Avoyer, the title of the chief magistrate of a Swiss town.

Azymites. In the controversies between the Roman and Greek Catholics, the former contended that the bread of the sacrament ought to be *azymus*, (from the Greek ἄζυμος, unleavened,) and were hence called Azymites.

Bailiff. The magistrates appointed by the Austrians over Switzerland had the title of *vogt*, or *landvogt*, meaning *bailiff*, by which title they were also called, and which is equivalent to *sheriff* or *governor*. The district governed by a *vogt* (or bailiff) was called a *vogtei* or *bailiwick*. The word *bailiff* was also the title of a class of officers in the order of the Knights of St. John. (See page 159.) Eight Bailiffs, with the Grand Master at their head, formed the *chapter*, or grand council of the order.

Barbacan, a fortification before the walls of a town ; a fortress at the end of a bridge ; an opening in the wall, out of which to shoot.

Barricade, (or Barricado,) a temporary fortification, made by heaping together various objects, such as wagons, chests, casks, beams, branches of trees, stones, &c., for the purpose of retarding an enemy, and giving an opportunity of firing upon him while he is engaged in removing them.

Basha, (or *Bashaw*, now usually written Pacha,) the title of the military governor of a Turkish province.

Bastion, the projecting part of the principal wall of a fortified place. The wall between two bastions is called the *curtain*.

Battering-ram, a long beam, like the mast of a ship, armed at one end with iron, in the form of a *ram's head*, and employed in breaking down the wall of a besieged place. It was one of the most formidable engines of ancient warfare. Being suspended by the middle with ropes or chains, fastened to a beam that lay across two posts, and thus hanging equally balanced, it was violently thrust forward, by about a hundred men, till its iron head had effected a breach in the wall of the fortress.

Battery, any raised place, in which cannon are planted ; a fortification provided with cannon. A line of cannon planted *against* a battery, is called, in reference to it, a *Counterbattery*.

Bavin, a piece of wood, like those of which fagots are made ; any piece of waste wood.

Bayonne, a wealthy commercial city in France, on the bay of Biscay.

Begler-bei, (or *Begler-beg*, lord of lords,) the title of a governor of a Turkish province.

Behemoth, a Hebrew word, signifying a beast of burden. The behemoth, spoken of in the book of Job, is supposed, by some, to be a hippopotamus; by others, an ox; by many, an elephant. By the early Fathers, the devil was supposed to be meant by it.

Belgrade, a city of European Turkey, on the Danube. It was conquered by the Turks, under Solyman the Second, in 1521; previously to which, it had been in the possession of the Austrians. Since that time, it has repeatedly passed from the Turks to the Austrians, but finally has remained in the hands of the Turks.

Benedictines, an order of monks, so named from its founder, St. Benedict, by whom it was established in the sixth century. In the twelfth century, there were two thousand monasteries belonging to this order.

Berne, or *Bern*, one of the cantons of Switzerland, having a capital city of the same name.

Bœotia, a country of ancient Greece, lying northwest of Attica. Thebes was its capital city.

Bombardment, an attack made by throwing *bombs*, which are hollow iron balls, filled with powder and combustibles, and employed for setting fire to houses, blowing up magazines, &c. The bomb, which has a hole in which a *fuse* is inserted, is discharged from a kind of short cannon, called a *mortar*. The *fuse*, which is a hollow wooden plug, filled with some preparation which burns regularly and rapidly, is made of such length, as that the bomb shall not explode till it reaches its destined place. It then bursts, and its fragments destroy every thing within reach.

Bonaparte, see *Napoleon*, and also, pages 236, 237.

Bosnia, a province of European Turkey.

Bosphorus, the ancient name of the strait (now called the canal or strait of Constantinople) which leads from the Black Sea into the Sea of Marmora.

Brandenberg, an extensive district in Germany, formerly governed by an *elector*, and now forming one of the most important of the Prussian states.

Breakwater, or *mole*, a structure employed to form an artificial harbor. It consists of a vast heap of large stones, the top of which rises above the surface of the water. This *breaks* the force of the waves, and affords, within the *mole*, safe anchorage.

Breisach, (or *Brisach*,) a town on the Rhine, formerly one of the strongest towns in Europe, and the capital of the Breisgau.

Breisgau, (or *Brisgau*,) an extensive tract in the southwest part of Germany, formerly in the possession of Austria, but now belonging to *Baden*. It is one of the most fertile parts of Germany.

Bremgarten, a town of Aargau, in Switzerland.

Brescia, a city of Austrian Italy, in the government of Milan. It is a handsome city, of about thirty-five thousand inhabitants, and noted for its manufactures.

Brigantine, a light, flat, open vessel, with ten or fifteen oars on a side, capable of carrying one hundred men; much used on the

Mediterranean. The name is sometimes, however, applied to the two-masted, square-rigged vessel, called a *brig*.

Brocade, a woven stuff of silk, variegated with figures of foliage or flowers, in gold and silver.

Brunnen, a town of Switzerland, in the district of Schwytz.

Brutus, (Lucius Junius,) a nephew of Tarquin the Proud, the last King of Rome, whose enmity he eluded by feigning himself insane, whence he was surnamed *Brutus* (the stupid.) On the occasion of the death of Lucretia, who slew herself in consequence of the brutal outrage of a son of Tarquin, Brutus threw off the disguise of stupidity, and was one of the most vigorous agents in the expulsion of the kings from Rome. The regal office being abolished, the chief authority was given to two magistrates, called *consuls*, and Brutus was one of the first two chosen to this office. He was slain in battle, B. C. 509.

Bulgarian, belonging to *Bulgaria*, a province of European Turkey, named from the *Bulgarians*, an Asiatic tribe, who removed to Europe in the sixth century. Bulgaria is a mountainous country, lying south of the Danube, and west of the Black Sea.

Bull, an ordinance or decree of the Pope, written on parchment, and provided with a leaden seal. The Latin word *bulla*, signifying a knob or boss, was originally applied to the seal itself, and afterwards to the whole instrument. On page 142, a reference is made to the bull beginning with the words *in Cœna Domini*, (in the Lord's Supper.) This was one of the most remarkable of all the papal bulls, for its arrogance of tone. It asserted the supreme authority of the Church of Rome over all temporal power, and declared sentence of excommunication upon all heretics and favorers of heretics. It was founded upon old papal decrees, and was at various times, from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, extended and modified.

Burgess, (plural, *burgesses*,) a citizen ; a freeman of a city or town ; it sometimes signifies a representative of a city or town.

Burgher, (from the German,) a citizen ; one having the privilege of citizenship in any place.

Burgomaster, the title of a chief magistrate of large towns in the Netherlands and Germany.

Burgonians, (for Burgundians,) inhabitants of Burgundy.

Burgrave, a German title of nobility ; captain, governor, or lord, of a city or castle.

Burgundy, a province in the east of France, forming an independent kingdom till 1361, when it was annexed to the French crown. It is remarkable for the fertility of its soil, and the excellence of its wines.

Byzantine empire. In the year 395, the Emperor Theodosius divided the Roman empire between his two sons, giving to Honorius the western portion, and to Arcadius the eastern. The latter was called the Byzantine empire, from its seat of government, *Byzantium*, (now called Constantinople ;) and survived the western empire, (the seat of which was at Rome,) about one thousand years ; lasting till the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks, in 1453.

Calatia, a town of ancient Italy, in Campania.

Caliph, (more properly *Khalif*,) the imperial title assumed by the successors of Mohammed among the Saracens, (*which see*,) who were vested with absolute power in affairs both religious and civil. The word is Arabic, and signifies a vicar, substitute, heir, or successor.

Caloyers, an order of monks, of the Greek Church, the rules of which enjoin solitude, and the greatest austerity and abstinence.

Camillus, (Marcus Furius,) an illustrious Roman warrior. After having held various high offices in the state, and conquered, in several wars, the enemies of Rome, he was unjustly accused of having embezzled a part of the plunder of Veii, (a city of Etruria, vanquished by Camillus, when dictator,) and went into voluntary exile. But when Rome was in imminent danger from the Gauls, Camillus, being again appointed dictator by his repentant countrymen, took command of a body of Romans who had fled to Veii, marched to Rome, and rescued the city from the Gauls. The services of Camillus were required in various subsequent wars ; he was five times made dictator ; and, when eighty years old, vanquished a new army of Gauls, who had approached the city. He died of the plague, B. C. 365.

Campania, the ancient name of a province of Italy, on the Mediterranean, in the present kingdom of Naples. It has always been one of the most beautiful and fruitful portions of Italy.

Candiotes, inhabitants of *Candia*, (anciently Crete,) an important island in the Mediterranean, lying south of the Grecian Archipelago. It was in the hands of the Venetians, from the beginning of the thirteenth to the latter part of the seventeenth century, when it was conquered by the Turks, after a long, bloody, and obstinate war.

The great *Cannon* of Mohammed, several times mentioned in this Volume is said to have thrown a stone ball weighing six hundred pounds.

Cantabria, the ancient name of a country in the north of Spain, bordering on the bay of Biscay.

Cantacuzene. The family name of two of the Byzantine emperors, John and Matthew, who held the Imperial throne from A. D. 1341, to 1355. The former is considered as one of the greatest of the successors of Constantine the Great.

Cantemir, (Demetrius,) an author of some considerable works, born in Moldavia, (a province of European Turkey, bordering on Russia,) in 1673. He was repeatedly appointed prince of Moldavia, under the Turkish government, but finally entered into a treaty with the Emperor of Russia, and became a prince of the Russian Empire. His principal works are, a ' History of the Rise and Fall of the Ottoman Empire ;' ' The System of the Mohammedan religion ;' and ' The present state of Moldavia,' with a large Map of the country.

Capitol, the citadel of ancient Rome, standing upon one of the seven hills on which Rome was built, called the Capitoline hill. The edifice of the capitol was square, and contained three temples, sacred to Jupiter, Minerva, and Juno. The capitol was several times burned and rebuilt. It was adorned with great magnificence, and was the scene of various public solemnities.

Capuan gate. One of the gates of ancient Rome, through which passed the road leading to Capua, the capital of Campania, a city of great wealth and luxury.

Capuchins, an order of monks, established A. D. 1528. It is a branch of the order of *Franciscans*, or Minorites, (*fratres minores*, lesser or inferior brethren ; so called by their founder, in token of humility,) which was established by St. Francis, of Assisi, a town in Italy, in 1208. The order was distinguished by vows of absolute poverty, and a renunciation of all worldly learning and pleasure. To beg and to preach was to be the duty of its members. The whole number of Franciscans and Capuchins, in the eighteenth century, was one hundred and fifteen thousand, in seven thousand convents. But there are now probably not more than one third of that number, as the order has been suppressed, in many countries.

Cardinal, a dignitary of the Roman Catholic Church, next in dignity to the Pope, and having the right to vote in the election of Pope. One of their badges, or distinctive articles of dress, is a *hat*, of red or violet, with silk strings and tassels.

Carlstadt, a contemporary of Luther, and a zealous and violent Reformer. His real name was Andrew Bodenstein ; and he was called Carlstadt, from the city of that name, in Germany, where he was born. He was professor of theology at Wittenberg, (a German town, on the Elbe, in Saxony,) and was included, in 1520, in the bull which condemned Luther. He boldly appealed from the Pope, and declared in favor of the marriage of priests. But his violence in instigating the people to destroy the altars, pictures, and images of the saints, in the churches, caused Luther to be greatly displeased, and led to a division between them. He afterwards commenced a controversy with Luther, respecting the sacrament, which was carried on with much bitterness. He was subsequently reduced to great distress, and was relieved by Luther, whom, however, he treated with ingratitude. He died, about A. D. 1542, at Basle, (Switzerland,) where he had been professor of theology for ten years.

Carthage, an ancient wealthy and commercial city, in Africa, on the Mediterranean, founded by a colony from Tyre, in Phœnicia. It was, for a long time, a formidable enemy to Rome, and several wars were carried on between them, which ended in the destruction of Carthage by the younger Scipio, B. C. 146. Few traces of its site now remain.

Carthaginian, belonging to, or an inhabitant of, Carthage.

Carystian, belonging to Carystus, (now Carysto,) a town on the southerly shore of Eubœa, a large island of Greece, lying northeasterly from Attica.

Casemates, vaults under the main wall of a fortress, especially in the bastions, made bomb-proof, and serving to defend the moat, or trench, outside of the wall. They also afford facilities in making *countermines*, (*which see*,) and serve as places for keeping cannon and balls, or as habitations for the soldiers.

Castaños, a distinguished Spanish general, who was defeated by the

French in a battle fought in November, 1808, at Tudela, a town of Spain.

Castile, see *Aragonese*.

Catalonia, a province in the northeast part of Spain, bordering on France and on the Mediterranean. It is not remarkable for fertility; but it is so for the industry of its inhabitants and its advancement in manufactures, agriculture, and commerce.

Cato, Marcus Porcius, a celebrated Roman, born B. C. 232; remarkable for his temperance, and the severity of his morals. He served in all the high offices of state, and was a courageous and prudent general. His enmity to Scipio commenced in early life, and lasted till death. A work on agriculture, by Cato, is still extant. He was the great-grandfather of that Cato who was the contemporary of Cæsar and Cicero. He was surnamed the Censor, from his having exercised that office, and to distinguish him from other members of the same family.

Caudine Forks, (now *Avellino*,) a mountain pass, near *Caudium*, a town of Samnium. See page 43.

Celano, a town in the kingdom of Naples, (Italy,) near a lake of the same name.

Cellini, Benvenuto, a sculptor, engraver, and goldsmith, born at Florence, in 1500, where he died in 1570. He was distinguished for his works in gold and silver. His life was an eventful one, and he has left an account of it, by himself. He was bold and honest, but vain and quarrelsome.

Censor, the title of a magistrate in ancient Rome, whose duty it was to keep a register of the number of people, and of their fortunes, to regulate the taxes, and to watch over the public morals and manners. Two censors were elected every five years.

Ceres, one of the goddesses of ancient mythology, presiding over agriculture. The temple of *Ceres Amphictyonis*, (the Ceres of Amphictyon,) at Anthela, was probably so called, from a tradition that her worship was established there by Amphictyon.

Chagan, the appellation of the king or ruler of the Avares or Avari, a barbarous, but warlike tribe, who formerly flourished in Europe, and at the time of the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks, their dominion extended over what is now Hungary, Poland, Prussia, and the eastern regions of Germany.

Chalcocondyles, Nicholas, of Athens, one of the 'Byzantine historians,' as they are called, a series of Greek authors, whose works relate to the history of the Byzantine empire, from the fourth century till the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks.

Chapter, a name given to an assembly of the members of a religious order, or of church dignitaries, for deliberating on their affairs, and regulating their discipline; so called, because one or more *chapters*, containing the rules of the order, were read there.

Charles V., Emperor of Germany and King of Spain, (in which capacity he was called Charles the First,) a contemporary of Henry the Eighth of England and of Francis the First of France, the latter of whom was his rival in the contest for the imperial throne. He was born February 24, 1500. In 1556, he resigned his thrones, in

favor of his son Philip, and died in a monastery to which he had retired, September 21, 1558. For an account of the war which he carried on against Pope Clement the Seventh, see page 234, &c.

Chilon, or *Chilo*, a philosopher of Sparta, who died B. C. 597.

Chios, (now Scio,) one of the largest islands of the Grecian Archipelago, near the coast of Asia Minor.

Chosroes II., (the grandson of Chosroes the First,) a King of Persia, who came to the throne A. D. 590. He waged war upon Heraclius, Emperor of the East, (the Byzantine empire,) and besieged Constantinople, in 625. Heraclius penetrated into Persia, and destroyed the palace of Chosroes, who was dethroned by one of his sons, and imprisoned, after eighteen of his sons had been slain before his eyes. He died in 628.

Christendom, a term applied to those countries (taken collectively) where Christianity is the prevailing religion.

Cinque Ports, the name given, by way of distinction, to five seaports of England, (so called from the French, *cinq*, five,) to which, in the reign of William the Conqueror, peculiar privileges were granted, on certain conditions of maritime service. These five ports are Dover, Sandwich, Hithe, Hastings, and Romney, to which have been attached Winchelsea, Rye, and Seaford. They have now lost much of their old importance as harbors, but still retain many of the privileges with which they were formerly endowed.

Circumvallation, the formation of lines of fortification round a place intended to be besieged. These lines are sometimes so formed, as to afford defence both from an assault on the side nearest to the besieged town, and from an attack on the opposite side, by parties marching to relieve the place.

Cissians, a people anciently inhabiting the region just north of the Gulf of Persia.

Claudius, (Quintus,) a Roman historian, who lived about B. C. 70. None of his works are extant. There were many other celebrated Romans of the name of Claudius, which was common to a large and noble family.

Clement VII., (Julius of Medici,) was made Pope in 1523, and died in 1534, at the age of fifty-six. For an account of the origin of the difficulties between him and Charles the Fifth, Emperor of Germany, see page 235, and for the history of the most eventful period in his life, see the whole account of the 'Sack of Rome,' pages 237–269.

Cleopatra, a Queen of Egypt, very celebrated for her beauty, wit, and elegance of manners, which fascinated Julius Cæsar, and, after his death, Mark Antony, who was now, with Octavius Cæsar and Lepidus, possessed of the government of Rome. War broke out between Octavius and Antony, but the latter was too much engrossed with the allurements of the Egyptian Queen, to make the requisite preparations for the war. After some delay, a naval battle was fought between them, at Actium, (*which see.*) After Antony's death, Cleopatra killed herself, (B. C. 30,) by the bite of an asp, that she might not fall into the hands of Octavius, and be carried in triumph to Rome.

Clerk, a term generally used, in former times, in the same sense in which we now employ the word clergyman, and still so used in legal instruments.

Cockboat, a small boat belonging to a ship.

Columbus, (Christopher,) the discoverer of America, was born about 1435, and died in 1506. For his Life, see 'THE SCHOOL LIBRARY,' Vol. i., Larger Series, and Vol. xi., Juvenile Series.

Comitium, a part of the Roman Forum, where certain assemblies of the people were held. It was covered with a roof, and adorned with paintings, statues, and columns.

Confession, *Confessor*, see *Auricular confession*.

Conscript Fathers, the title by which the Roman Senate was addressed. The origin of the term is as follows. Those whom Brutus (*see page* 347,) chose into the senate, to supply the places of the senators whom Tarquin the Proud had slain, he called *conscripti*, that is, persons *written* or *enrolled together* with the old senators, who were styled *patres*, (fathers.) Afterwards, the term *patres conscripti* (conscript fathers) was extended to the whole body.

Consistory, the council of state under the Roman emperors; also the highest council of state in the Papal government. The term is also applied to high ecclesiastical councils in Protestant countries.

Constance, a city of Switzerland, on Lake Constance, celebrated as the seat of the council held A. D. 1414–18, at which Huss and Jerome of Prague were condemned. The council was summoned by Sigismund, Emperor of Germany, for the purpose of settling some difficulties in the Roman Church, in regard to the choice of Pope, and for stopping the diffusion of the doctrines of Huss. It was a numerous and imposing assembly. The German Emperor, the Pope, twenty-six princes, one hundred and forty counts, more than twenty cardinals, seven patriarchs, twenty archbishops, ninety-one bishops, six hundred other clerical dignitaries and doctors, and about four hundred priests, were present.

Constantine, and *Constantinople*. Constantine, (the Great,) who was Emperor of Rome from A. D. 306 to 337, laid, in 329, the foundations of a new capital of the empire, at Byzantium, in Thrace, upon the Bosphorus. This city, which had been almost destroyed by one of his predecessors, he rebuilt, and adorned with various public buildings, calling it after his own name; (in Greek, *Κωνσταντινου πόλις*, *Constantinou polis*, the city of Constantine.) It was the capital and residence of the Byzantine emperors, till its conquest by the Turks, in 1453, (see pages 111–140,) at which time, *Constantine Palæologus* (the last of the Roman and Greek emperors) was Emperor, having succeeded his brother, John Palæologus, in 1445. Constantinople has been, since that conquest, the capital of the Turkish sultans. It contains, with its suburbs, from six hundred thousand to one million inhabitants.

Consul, the title of the two highest magistrates in the Roman republic, which was also retained by certain high officers under the emperors. The government by consuls continued, with slight interruptions, from B. C. 509 to B. C. 59. Two consuls were elected annually. The word signifies *adviser*, *counsellor*.

Convent, a house devoted to the residence of monks or nuns ; called, in the former case, a monastery ; in the latter, a nunnery.

Coos, or *Cos*, (now *Stanco*, and by corruption *Lanjo* or *Lango*, as it is called on page 180,) an island in the Archipelago, about twelve miles from the shore of Asia, and about seventy miles in circumference.

Corinthians, inhabitants of *Corinth*, a city of Greece, upon the isthmus of Corinth, (which separates the Morea from the main continent.) It was anciently a city of great magnificence and luxury, but only a few ruins of its former splendor now remain. There was formerly a flourishing Christian church here, to which St. Paul wrote two Epistles.

Cornelian family, an illustrious family of Rome, the different branches of which bore the name of Cornelius. The Scipios were of this family.

Corps de reserve, (French,) a body of troops kept out of battle, and *reserved*, in order to be brought up, if the troops in action are beaten, or thrown into disorder, or cannot follow up their victory.

Corsica, an island in the Mediterranean, about fifty miles from Italy, and one hundred from France. Napoleon Bonaparte was a native of Ajaccio, in this island, and is hence frequently spoken of as 'the Corsican.'

Cortége, (French,) a train, retinue.

Counterbattery, see *Battery*.

Countermine. In besieging a fortress, subterranean passages, called *mines*, are sometimes dug under the walls or buildings by the besiegers, for the purpose of blowing them up by gunpowder. The troops employed for this purpose are called *sappers* and *miners*. The *mines* of the fortress itself, made to oppose the subterranean movements of the enemy, are called *countermines*. The explosion of powder in a mine is termed *springing* a mine.

Counterscarp, the *outer* slope of the ditch which surrounds a fortification ; or that slope nearest the field. The term is sometimes applied to the *covered way* and the *glacis*. The *covered way* is a space of ground on the edge of the ditch, toward the field, ranging round the works. Outside of the covered way, rises a *breastwork* of earth, which descends, by a gentle slope, called the *glacis*, toward the field.

Crete, see *Candiotes*.

Criton, a friend and disciple of Socrates.

Crossbow, a weapon for shooting, much used in war before the invention of firearms. It is a strong wooden or steel bow, fastened to a stock, *crosswise*, and shot off by a trigger fixed to the stock.

Curtain, see *Bastion*.

Cyprus, an island in the Mediterranean, south of Asia Minor, famous, in ancient times, for its fertility and its fine climate. The island was in the possession of the Venetians from 1473 till 1571, when it fell into the hands of the Turks, its present rulers.

Cythera, (now *Cerigo*,) a rocky island near the southern shore of Greece.

Cyzicus, formerly an island, now a peninsula, on the south side of the sea of Marmora.

Darius, the name of several Persian kings. The one referred to in this Volume is Darius, the son of Hystaspes, and father of Xerxes, who reigned about B. C. 500.

Delf, (properly *Delft*,) a city of the Netherlands, in the province of South Holland, between Rotterdam and Leyden, containing about fourteen thousand inhabitants.

Delos, (now *Dili*, *Sdili*, or *Ilegi*,) an island in the Archipelago, celebrated, in ancient times, as the birthplace of Apollo and Diana. It contained a magnificent temple, dedicated to Apollo, erected at the joint expense of all the Grecian states, and was celebrated for its oracle. The island is now covered with the ruins of its ancient works of architecture.

Demons, spirits intermediate between gods and mortals; conveying to men the commands of the gods; to the gods, the prayers of men. Each mortal was supposed to have a particular demon, who accompanied him till death. The word is derived from the Greek δαίμων, *daimon*, *intelligent*, *wise*. Socrates and the other Grecian philosophers believed in these beings called demons.

Depot, (*dépôt*, French,) a place of deposit, whether of munitions of war, troops, or merchandise.

Dervish, (or *dervise*,) the name of a class of religious persons in Asia, denoting the same among the Mohammedans as *monk* among Christians.

Dictator, a magistrate of ancient Rome, appointed only upon extraordinary occasions, and holding his office for a limited time. Upon the occurrence of any emergency, such as the near approach of an enemy, or the like, when a greater degree of energy in the government was required than was consistent with the limited powers of the regular magistrates, a dictator was appointed, with almost absolute power, who held his office until the period of national danger was past. Sometimes, a dictator was created for some purposes of form, such as holding an election. The officer next in rank to the dictator was called *master of the horse*, and held his office only so long as the dictatorship continued.

Diet, the grand council of the German empire. (See pages 141, 142.)

Divan, the highest council of state among the Turks; so called from the council-chamber where the ministers of state meet; and that derives its name from the divan or couch which surrounds it.

Doric dialect. The language of ancient Greece was marked by four principal varieties or dialects, the Attic, Ionic, Doric, and Æolic, prevailing in different parts of Greece and her colonies. The Doric dialect was broad and rough, yet possessed of a certain dignity; the Ionic was delicate and smooth. The Attic, being used in Athens, the seat of refinement and science, became, at last, the prevailing dialect.

Dorsel, a pannier; a basket or bag, one of which hangs on either side of a beast of burden, for the reception of things of small bulk.

Drake, Sir Francis, a distinguished English navigator and naval commander, who was born in 1545, and died in 1596. He undertook various privateering expeditions against the Spanish possessions in America, and being successful, was furnished by Queen Elizabeth

with ships and means for further expeditions. He commanded, as vice-admiral of the British fleet, in the conflict with the Spanish Armada, in 1588.

Ducas, one of the Byzantine historians, (see *Chalcocondyles*,) who, after the conquest of Constantinople, wrote a history of the empire, from A. D. 1341 to 1462.

Ebro, a river of Spain, flowing into the Mediterranean.

Echecrates, a disciple of Socrates.

Edile, a Roman magistrate, of secondary rank, having charge of public games, public buildings, and of the market.

Eisenach, a town in Germany, near the mountains of Thuringia.

Elector, a title given to certain princes of the German empire, who elected the Emperor. The empire ended in 1806. Under the present German confederacy, the title is held by but one prince, and has lost its original meaning.

Ems, a town in the duchy of Nassau, (Germany,) remarkable for its mineral waters.

Ennius, (Quintus,) a Latin poet, who flourished about B. C. 200, and was an intimate friend of the elder Scipio Africanus. Of his numerous works, only fragments remain.

Entlibuch, a Swiss town in the canton of Lucerne.

Entrails, the interior parts of the body. The ancient soothsayers inspected particularly the liver, and other organs in the cavity of the chest, which, as well as the intestines, are comprehended under the above term.

Epirot, an inhabitant of Epirus, a province in the northwest part of Greece, now a part of Albania.

Equinoxes, those two periods of the year, when the days and nights are of the same length throughout the globe.

Etruria, (now Tuscany,) a region of ancient Italy, on the Mediterranean, bounded southerly by the Tiber. The inhabitants, called Etrurians, or Etruscans, (now Tuscans,) were remarkable for their skill in the useful and elegant arts.

Eumenes, a King of Pergamus, (a kingdom in Asia Minor,) who reigned from B. C. 263 to 241, and was an ally of the Romans.

Euripides, one of the three most eminent Greek tragic poets, born B. C. 480, on the day of the battle of Salamis, at which Æschylus fought. His tragedies (of which nineteen remain out of eighty or ninety) were remarkable for brilliancy and beauty, but somewhat lax in the tone of their morality, though abounding in graceful moral sentences. He was a few years younger than Sophocles, and was his rival for the prizes at the public games.

Fasces, see *Lictors*.

Fascines, bundles of boughs, twigs, &c., about sixteen feet long and one foot in diameter, used in sieges, for filling up ditches which are to be crossed.

Felucca, a large boat, like a brigantine, (*which see.*)

Feodary, (plural *feodaries*,) one who holds an estate under tenure (or condition) of performing certain services to a superior lord, such as attending upon him in war, with a certain number of armed vassals, &c.

Ferdinand V., of Aragon, the father of Catharine, wife of Henry the Eighth, of England. He was born in 1453. He married Isabella, Queen of Castile, and thus laid the foundation of the union of the different Spanish kingdoms. The reign of these princes is remarkable for the discovery of America, the establishment of the Inquisition, and the expulsion of the Moors from Spain. Ferdinand possessed many great qualities, but was bigoted and tyrannical.

Feudal. The *feudal system*, as it is called, prevailed in Europe during the middle ages, (from the fifth to the fifteenth century.) According to this system, estates were held upon certain conditions of service. (See *Feodary.*) The nobleman was the feodary or vassal of his prince ; the soldier or the farmer, of his lord. By *feudal notions* is meant the opinions current during the times when this system prevailed.

Filing, a military phrase, which generally means, moving in a single line, and not abreast ; but may be used simply to signify *marching*.

Firepot, a small earthen pot, containing a grenade, (*which see*,) covered with powder. The pot is covered with parchment, on which are placed two lighted matches. When the pot is thrown, it is broken, the powder is fired, and the grenades explode.

Flank, in fortification, is that part of a work, which affords a lateral defence to another. In a *bastion*, the *flanks* are those lines which join the main wall.

Fleming, (plural *Flemings*, or *Flemish*,) a native of Flanders, a province in the southwestern part of the Netherlands, bordering on France and on the German Ocean.

Florentine, an inhabitant or native of Florence, the capital of the grand duchy of Tuscany, (Italy,) a city of seventy-five thousand inhabitants, situated on the River Arno, and remarkable for its valuable collections of works of art.

Flülen, or *Fluelen*, a village of Switzerland, in the canton of Schwytz. Here is William Tell's chapel, referred to on page 85.

Foragers, parties of soldiers, sent out to obtain supplies of fodder for the horses, or provisions for the army.

Forum, among the Romans, meant any open public place where markets and courts of justice were held. The great Forum in Rome was a splendid place, used for assemblies of the people, for trials, and for the transaction of public business. It was oblong, was surrounded with porticoes, and adorned with columns and statues. It is now almost a waste, but is covered with the ruins of its ancient magnificence.

Fosse, (plural *fosses*,) a ditch, particularly that which surrounds a fortified place.

Francis I., King of France, born A. D. 1494, and died A. D. 1547. He was the contemporary of Charles the Fifth, of Spain, and Henry the Eighth, of England ; was an unsuccessful competitor with the former for the imperial throne of Germany, and was afterwards almost continually at war with him. He was a Prince of a noble and enterprising spirit, remarkable for his love and protection of literature and the arts, and possessed every qualification for reigning well,

had he been content to reign in peace, instead of being engaged in almost perpetual wars.

Franciscans, see *Capuchin*.

French Academy, see *Academy*.

French Revolution, the overthrow of royal power in France, and the establishment of a republic, in 1792. The destruction of the Bastille, (a fortified prison,) the deposition and execution of King Louis the Sixteenth, and the massacres of the royalists during the period called the reign of terror, are among the most prominent acts of this great tragic drama.

Freyburg, or *Friburg*, a town of Baden, (in Germany,) formerly capital of the Breisgau, (*which see*,) containing about ten thousand inhabitants.

Fuller, (Thomas,) an English historian and divine, best known for his 'Worthies of England,' a biographical work, full of information and anecdote, written in a quaint style. His other writings were numerous. He died in 1661.

Galata, the name of one of the suburbs of Constantinople.

Galleases, the largest sort of galleys, formerly employed by the Venetians, being about one hundred and sixty-two feet long and thirty-two wide, having three masts, and sixty-four oars, each one managed by six or seven slaves, who were chained to it.

Galley, a low, flat-built vessel, much in use on the Mediterranean, furnished with one deck, and navigated with sails and oars.

Galliot, a small, swift galley, designed for chase. The rowers are soldiers, and each has a musket beside him.

Gallowglasses, a kind of soldiers among the Irish, in former times.

Gaul, (Latin *Gallia*,) the ancient name of France. *Gaul*, (plural *Gauls*,) also signifies a native of *Gallia*. (See *Camillus*.)

Gaunt, an antiquated mode of writing Ghent, *which see*.

Gennadius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, at the time of its conquest by the Turks. He died about A. D. 1460.

Genoese, natives of *Genoa*, a dukedom (formerly a republic) in the northwest of Italy, on the Mediterranean, having a capital city of the same name. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the Genoese were the most flourishing commercial people of Europe.

Genseric, a King of the Vandals, (*which see*,) who invaded Italy, A. D. 455, and plundered the city of Rome, taking possession of all the treasures and works of art which had been left by the Goths. He was prevailed upon to spare the city from slaughter and conflagration. He was a prince of great ability and bravery.

George I. was King of Great Britain from 1714, till his death, in 1727, at the age of sixty-eight. He was a great-grandson of James the First of England, was a German by birth, and was Elector of Hanover, (now a *kingdom* of Germany,) both before and after his accession to the English throne. He was a plain, simple, and sensible, man.

German mile, about four English miles.

Gersau, a town of Switzerland, in the canton of Unterwalden. It is the capital of a district of about six square miles, which was formerly independent, and the smallest free state in Europe.

Ghent, the capital of East Flanders, (one of the provinces of the Netherlands,) a city of about sixty thousand inhabitants, and formerly of great importance and wealth.

Ghibelline. A war was carried on in Italy and Germany in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, between two parties, or factions, called the *Guelphs* and the *Ghibellines;* the former of which fought for the supremacy of the Popes and the independence of the cities of Italy, and the latter supported the cause of the Emperors of Germany.

Glaris, or *Glarus*, a canton of Switzerland, with a capital town of the same name.

Goths, a German tribe, from the shores of the Baltic, who, by successive conquests, established, in the fourth century, a great kingdom, and became most formidable foes both to the Eastern and the Western empire of the Romans. They took and plundered Rome under their King, Alaric, A. D. 410, and again under Totila, (*which see.*)

Gottlieben, a town of Switzerland, three miles from Constance, where Huss was confined in 1415.

Gouda, a city of the Netherlands, on a branch of the Rhine, now a place of considerable trade, and remarkable for a large and handsome church, the painted-glass windows of which are supposed to be the finest in Europe.

Gracchus, Tiberius Sempronius, (see pages 63 and 69,) was the son-in-law of Scipio Africanus, and father of the two celebrated Gracchi, Tiberius and Caius. The former of these early made himself conspicuous in military service. He then became tribune of the people, and bent all his efforts to advance his plans for the improvement of their condition. These plans drew upon him the enmity of the senate and of the patrician party ; and he was slain in a civil tumult, B. C. 133. The career and fate of Caius were similar. These brothers were educated by their mother, Cornelia, a woman of great ability and excellence, the daughter of Scipio, who, when requested to show her jewels, produced her two sons, saying, "These are my jewels, the only ones of which I can boast."

Grand Signior, a title of the Sultan of the Turkish Empire.

Grand Cross, one of the titles of honor, in the orders of Knighthood.

Gratz, the chief town in Stiria, (a province of Austria,) containing a population of thirty-four thousand.

Grenado, or *grenade*, a bomb of small diameter, (see *Bombardment*,) which is either thrown by hand, or discharged from cannon, according to its size.

Haerlem, a city of the Netherlands, capital of the province of North Holland, about three miles from the sea. Population about twenty thousand.

Halberd, a battleaxe fastened to the end of a long pole.

Halfmoon, an outwork of a fortification, composed of two faces uniting in a projecting angle, the entrance to which, from the fortress, is in the shape of a halfmoon. It is now called a *Ravelin.*

Hannibal, a celebrated Carthaginian general, and a most formidable enemy of the Romans, born B. C. 243, and died B. C. 183. His

passage over the Alps, for the invasion of Italy, in Winter, is one of the most remarkable military exploits of antiquity. He maintained an army for sixteen years in Italy, and Rome itself was once in imminent danger of falling into his hands. He was recalled, however, by the Carthaginian senate, to Africa, and was there defeated by Scipio Africanus. Obliged by the machinations of his enemies to leave Carthage, he went successively to the courts of two Asiatic kings, and at last poisoned himself, to prevent his being delivered into the hands of the Romans.

Hapsburg, or *Habsburg*, a small place in Switzerland, in the district of Aargau. The proprietors of it became Counts of Hapsburg, and gradually enlarged their territory. Rodolph of Hapsburg was chosen Emperor of Germany, A. D. 1273. He was the founder of the present reigning house of Austria.

Harem, among the Mussulmans, signifies the women's apartments, which no man but the husband is permitted to enter.

Harquebusiers, see *Arquebusiers*.

Hellespont, (improperly called the Dardanelles, from two ancient castles at its entrance, one on each side,) a strait between Europe and Asia, connecting the sea of Marmora with the Archipelago.

Helot, a Spartan slave. The helots did not belong to individuals, but were the property of the state, and assigned to their several masters. They were sometimes employed in military service, in cases of necessity. Agriculture and all mechanical arts, at Sparta, were in their hands.

Henneburg, formerly a principality in Germany, now divided among other states.

Henry VIII., King of England, was born A. D. 1491, and came to the throne in 1509. His reign is remarkable for the spread of the principles of the Reformation, in England, which was in a great measure owing to the breaking off, by Henry, of his allegiance to the Pope. The Pope had *excommunicated* the King, (that is, declared him to be deprived of the privileges of Christian communion,) on account of his marriage with Ann Boleyn ; and Henry declared *himself* the supreme head of the English Church. He was passionate and intolerant, inhuman and arbitrary, fond of power, and inconstant in his affections. He died in 1547.

Herald, an officer whose business it is (among other duties) to regulate and arrange public ceremonies. In ancient times, it was his duty, also, to proclaim war and peace.

Hercules, a celebrated hero of antiquity, fabled to be a son of Jupiter, by Alcmena, a mortal mother. The ancient poets embodied in Hercules the ideas of personal strength, perseverance, and valor. After achieving a series of the most remarkable "labors," he was numbered, after death, with the gods. His death was caused by putting on a poisoned dress sent him by his wife Dejanira, (who was jealous ;) and while suffering from the effects of this poison, he caused a funeral pile to be constructed, ascended it, and was consumed.

Hexameter verses, in ancient poetry, are verses consisting of six measures, or feet, each of which consists of two or three syllables.

Hindoos, the primitive inhabitants of the East Indies ; a very ancient nation, distinguished for their humanity, gentleness, and industry, and remarkable for their civilization, and their advancement in letters and arts, at a time when most other nations of Asia, and even Europe, had made very little progress in them.

Hippodrome, see *Atmeidan*.

Holy Land, see *Palestine*.

Homer, an ancient Greek poet, the most distinguished of all antiquity, who lived about the ninth century before Christ. His great poems are, the 'Iliad,' describing the most stirring scenes of the war of the Greeks against Troy, and the 'Odyssey,' the adventures of Ulysses, one of the Grecian heroes. The phrase, *Homeric grace*, signifies a grace like that of Homer, whose poems are full of gracefulness and beauty.

Host, (from the Latin *hostia*, a victim,) signifies, in the Roman Catholic Church, the *wafer*, or bread, used in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The "elevation of the host" is the raising of it, and of the cup containing the wine, to receive the homage of the people, as the body and blood of Jesus Christ.

Hyllus, a son of Hercules, and mentioned in this Volume as one of the ancestors of Leonidas, King of Sparta. He was killed in single combat, by Echemus, King of Arcadia.

Imam, a Turkish priest.

Imperialist, one attached to the party of an Emperor.

Indulgence, the pardon or remission of sin, which, in the Roman Catholic system, the Church claims power to grant. The sale of indulgences was one of the causes which led to the Reformation. The Popes, to replenish an exhausted treasury, sold them, not only as pardons for sins committed, but as permits for sins to be committed ; and this flagrant abuse awakened the indignation of Huss, Luther, and all the early Reformers.

Infanta, the title of the princes of the royal families of Spain and Portugal.

Infidel, a term applied by the Mohammedans to all who do not embrace the religion of Mohammed, including Christians ; by Christians, it is applied to all who do not believe in Christianity.

Ingot, a small bar of metal. Gold and silver are usually cast in ingots.

Interregnum, (from the Latin *inter*, between, and *regnum*, reign,) the period intervening between two reigns, where the succession is interrupted. The Romans employed the term while the republic was in existence, to denote any interruption in the regular succession of chief magistrates. The magistrate, ruling during the interval, was called an *interrex*, (from *inter*, and *rex*, a king.)

Ionic dialect, see *Doric dialect*.

Islam, or *Islamism*, "the true faith," according to the Mohammedans ; the religion of Mussulmans, or believers in the divine apostleship of Mohammed.

Janizaries, a corps of Turkish soldiers, forming the flower of the Sultan's troops and his body-guard. It was formed about the middle of the fourteenth century, and abolished in 1826. The Janiza-

ries had a peculiar discipline and organization, and were a most formidable soldiery.

Jerusalem, a celebrated city of Palestine, long the capital of the kingdom of the Jews, and the seat of their sacred temple. It is now under the government of the Turkish pacha of Damascus. It contains a population variously estimated at from fifteen to twenty thousand inhabitants, one half of whom are Mohammedans, one sixth Jews, and the rest Christians. Numerous pilgrims still resort to 'the Holy City.' In 'the church of the Holy Sepulchre,' which has been a consecrated spot for fifteen hundred years, is shown the pretended 'tomb of Christ,' in a richly-ornamented subterranean apartment.

John Palæologus, see *Constantinople*.

Juno, in ancient mythology, the sister and wife of Jupiter, and, next to him, the most exalted and powerful of the gods.

Junta, (Spanish, an assembly,) a high council of state, in Spain. In 1808, besides a central junta, there was, in every province, not subjugated by the French, a provincial junta, subject to the central one.

Knight, one who has received the honor of *knighthood*, which was, in the middle ages, the highest rank of chivalry; and, in the later periods of that institution, was only conferred on men of noble birth.

Königsfelden, a Swiss bailiwick, in the canton of Berne.

Küssnacht, a town of Schwytz, in Switzerland, near which is a chapel, erected on the spot where Tell slew Gessler.

Lacedæmonians, the inhabitants of *Lacedæmon*, or *Sparta*, one of the most powerful states of ancient Greece, situated in the southwesterly part of Peloponnesus. The city of Sparta, or Lacedæmon, which gave its name to the state, was properly the capital of Laconia, (the name of the whole district governed by the Spartans.) The Spartans were remarkable for valor, simplicity, and contempt of luxury; were early inured to fatigue and exposure, and taught to endure pain with firmness. They despised learning, and excluded it from the education of the young.

Landamman, the highest magistrate of a Swiss canton; the governor of a district.

Landgrave, a German title of nobility; a count.

Landsknecht, (German,) a common foot soldier.

Landvogt, (see *Bailiff*.)

Lango, or *Lanjo*, a corruption of Stanco, the modern name of the Island of Coos or Cos, *which see*.

Language, a division of the order of Knights Hospitallers, for an explanation of which, see page 160.

Lasnes, (usually spelt *Lannes*,) John, a distinguished French officer in the armies of Napoleon, born in 1769. He was a favorite of the Emperor, and was created Marshal of the empire and Duke of Montebello. He obtained a brilliant renown in the war in Spain. He lost both legs by a cannon shot, in the campaign against Austria in 1809, and died in a few days.

Latins, the people of *Latium*, an important country of ancient Italy,

on the Mediterranean, south of the Tiber, which separated it from Etruria.

Legatine court, a court at which a legate presides.

Lemnos, (now Stalimene,) a fertile island, containing about one hundred and forty-seven square miles, in the most northerly part of the Archipelago, or Ægean sea.

Lenzburg, a town of Switzerland, in the district of Aargau, capital of a bailiwick, and now a place of some trade.

Leon, (of Salamis,) a man eminent for his blameless life, but whose political opinions made him obnoxious to the Thirty Tyrants who then (B. C. 403–401) ruled Athens. In order to involve Socrates with him, the latter was appointed one of five, who were directed to proceed to Salamis, seize Leon, and bring him to Athens. This order, Socrates disobeyed, as contrary to law.

Leonard of Chios, the author of a history of the capture of Constantinople by the Turks.

Leonidas. For an account of this Spartan hero, see page 13. The list of his ancestors there given comprises the regular succession of kings of Sparta to Aristodemus, and thence of the descendants of Hercules, conquerors of Peloponnesus, to Hercules himself.

Lepanto, a seaport town in Greece, situated on a bay, anciently the gulf of Corinth, now the gulf of Lepanto.

Leyden, see page 288.

Libation, (literally, a pouring out,) an offering to the gods, of meat or drink, a kind of sacrifice. At feasts and domestic meals, among the ancients, a portion of food was often burned, and some wine *poured out*, as a libation to the gods. Hence the allusion of Socrates on page 38.

Lichtenstein, now a sovereign principality, the smallest state of the German confederacy, of about fifty-three square miles, bordering on the Rhine.

Lictors, public servants attendant upon the Roman magistrates. They were the executioners, and each carried an axe, tied up in a bundle of rods, called *fasces*.

Liegeman, a subject.

Liternum, (now Torre di Patria,) a town of Campania, in Italy, on the Mediterranean, a few miles northwest of Naples.

Livy, see page 60.

Locri, (now Motta di Bruzzano,) a town near the southern extremity of Italy, founded by a Grecian colony of Locrians. The inhabitants of Locris were also called Locri.

Locrians, (or Locri,) the inhabitants of *Locris*, a country of Middle Greece. There were several branches of Locrians, one of which inhabited a region lying on the gulf of Corinth; others (one of which was called the *Opuntian* Locrians, from their chief town, *Opus*) bordered on a gulf of the *Ægean Sea*.

Lombardy, a country in the north of Italy, between Switzerland and Tuscany.

Loopholed, full of loopholes, that is, openings, or void spaces.

Louis XI., King of France from 1461 to 1483. He was remarkable for treachery and cruelty; and his ministers and companions were

of the lowest classes. He was devotional, to a superstitious degree ; yet this did not prevent him from the commission of enormous crimes. His character, in other respects, was made up of the most opposing traits. The great effort of his life was to reduce the power of the feudal aristocracy, and make his own power absolute.

Louis XVI., King of France, was born in 1754, and perished on the scaffold, amid the horrors of the French Revolution, in 1793. He was a prince of great integrity of character, and benevolence of heart, but of great weakness and indecision of purpose ; without practical knowledge, at a time when great practical energy in the monarch was requisite ; and his private virtue was insufficient to maintain his throne.

Louis XVIII., of France, brother of Louis the Sixteenth, was born in 1755, and came to the throne in 1814, on the abdication of Napoleon. He died in 1824. He resembled his brother in the humanity and kindness of his character ; was attached to literary pursuits, possessed much intellectual cultivation, and was of a magnanimous and noble spirit.

Low Countries, see *Netherlands*.

Lowers, a village of the canton of Schwytz, in Switzerland.

Luceria, a city of Apulia, in ancient Italy ; now Lucera, in the kingdom of Naples, a city of eight thousand inhabitants, lying about sixty miles northeast from the city of Naples.

Lucerne, one of the central cantons of Switzerland, with a capital city of the same name. It is one of the least mountainous parts of Switzerland.

Lutherans, followers of the doctrines of Luther.

Luther, (Martin,) the first and chief of the Reformers, born at Isleben, a town of Saxony, November 10, 1483. He became a monk of the order of St. Augustine, but soon after, threw off the cowl and the fetters of papal authority. He wrote and preached with great severity against the sale of indulgences, advocated the free perusal of the Scriptures, the suppression of monasteries, and the marriage of priests or ministers. He completed, in thirteen years, a translation of the Bible into German, and published many powerful treatises on the doctrines of the Reformed faith. As a preacher, he was wise, practical, and eloquent. Possessed of a thorough knowledge of human nature, and of great sagacity, his courage was undaunted, and his constancy unshaken, amid all the threats and attacks of the Pope and Roman Catholic clergy ; and nearly all Germany became ardently attached to his person and religious views. He died February 18, 1546, at the age of sixty-three years, after a long and painful illness. For an account of his appearance before the Diet of Worms, see pp. 141–157.

Lycia, a province in the southern part of Asia Minor, bordering on the Mediterranean sea.

Lysias, a celebrated Athenian orator, who flourished about B. C. 458. His orations (of which thirty-four, only, out of more than two hundred, remain) are remarkable for elegance, simplicity, acuteness, and grace.

Macedonia, the northern part of the peninsula of Greece, now the southerly part of European Turkey.

Madrid, the capital of Spain, near the centre of the kingdom, two hundred miles from the sea.

Malta, an island in the Mediterranean, nearly opposite to the south angle of Sicily, about fifty miles distant.

Manosque, a town in the southeastern part of France, near the Mediterranean. A *commandery* (one of the subdivisions) of the Order of Knights of Malta was formerly established here.

Mansfield, Lord, (William Murray,) Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, in England, from 1756 to 1788. His Life, by *Holliday*, was published in 1797.

Mantineans, inhabitants of *Mantinea*, an important city of Arcadia, (the central region of the Peloponnesus,) and which was famous for a battle fought near it.

Margrave, a German title of nobility ; a count or prince.

Marseilles, an important commercial city of France, on the Mediterranean, containing about one hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants.

Mass, the prayers and ceremonies, which, in the Roman Catholic Church, accompany the celebration of the *eucharist*, or sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Mass is said, on all public occasions of worship. The saying of *masses for the dead*, a practice arising from the persuasion that souls could be saved from a part of the punishment for their sins, by a certain number of masses said, (which masses were paid for by the friends of the dead,) was one of the abuses which was denounced by the early Reformers.

Master of the Horse, see *Dictator*.

Mathesius, (John,) an historian, who sprung from a family prolific in learned men, and was born, A. D. 1505. He was for some time a domestic of Luther, and afterwards a German Protestant minister of Rochlic or Rochilz, a town of Saxony, and then for thirty years minister of the parish of Joachimsthal, (Joachim's Valley,) in Bohemia. He was the author of several works on Philosophy, a Life of Christ, Chronicles of Joachimsthal, a Life of Luther, and other works. He died October 7, 1565.

Medes, inhabitants of Media, the most important province of the ancient Persian empire, lying south of the Caspian sea.

Medina Sidonia, a town in Andalusia, in Spain, near the straits of Gibraltar, and twenty-two miles southeast of Cadiz. It is the capital of a duchy.

Melampus, a celebrated soothsayer and physician, of the fabulous period of Grecian history. Marvellous powers were attributed to him, and divine honors paid him after death.

Melians, inhabitants of *Melis*, a country lying on the *Maliac* (now the *Zeiton*) *Gulf*, a gulf of the Archipelago, south of Thessaly.

Memoirs, see *Academy*.

Meuse, a river, rising in France, and flowing into the German Ocean.

Milanese territory, a country in the northeast part of Italy, formerly the duchy of Milan, now a part of Austrian Italy. The capital is Milan, a city of about one hundred and forty thousand inhabitants.

Miltiades, a celebrated Athenian general, who lived about B. C. 500. He was the commander at the battle of Marathon, B. C. 490, where the Persians were defeated by the Athenians and Platæans in a glorious victory, gained with a small force over one immensely superior.

Minaret, see *Mosque*.

Minerva, one of the principal deities of the Grecian and Roman mythology, the daughter of Jupiter, and the goddess of wisdom, of war, and of the active and inventive arts of peace.

Mines, see *Countermines*.

Minorites, see *Capuchins*.

Mohammed, the founder of a system of religion which has spread over a great part of the East. He was born at Mecca, in Arabia, about A. D. 569, and died at the age of sixty-three. Claiming to be a divine messenger from God, he obtained an immense ascendancy, which he increased by the power of the sword. He is reverenced by his followers, as the only true prophet of God. The believers in Mohammed are called *Mohammedans*, *Mussulmans*, or *Moslems*. Their number is estimated at about one hundred and twenty millions, being about half as great as the Christian population of the globe.

Mohammed II., Sultan of the Turks, was son of Amurath the Second. He was born in 1430, and ascended the Turkish throne in 1451. His reign is memorable for the destruction of the Byzantine empire of the Romans, the most memorable scene of which, the fall of Constantinople, is described in this Volume, (pages 111–140.) See also page 160, for a comprehensive notice of this conqueror. He died in 1481.

Mole, see *Breakwater*.

Molēs, (Latin,) a mass, a pile.

Monaco, a city of Italy, on the Mediterranean, northwest of Corsica, and capital of a small principality of the same name.

Monks, *Monastic vows*, see *Religious Orders*.

Moorish, of the *Moors*, a people inhabiting northwestern Africa, particularly the states of *Morocco* and *Fez*, and who possessed a large part of Spain, from the eighth to the fifteenth century. Learning and the arts flourished among them, and there are still remaining, in Spain, many monuments of their labors and their magnificence.

Morea, (anciently called Peloponnesus,) the southern peninsula of Greece, from the continental part of which it is separated by the gulf of Lepanto and the gulf of Athens, and connected with it by the narrow isthmus of Corinth.

Morgarten, a mountain of Schwytz, in Switzerland, where the Archduke Leopold, of Austria, with twenty thousand men, was defeated by sixteen hundred men from the forest districts of Schwytz, Uri, and Unterwalden, December 6, 1315.

Mörsburg, a town of Baden, (Germany,) on the Lake of Constance.

Mosaics, imitations of paintings, by means of colored stones, pieces of glass, of marble, and even of wood, of different colors, cemented together. Works of all varieties of beauty and costliness are thus produced.

Moslem, see *Mohammed*.

Mosque, a Mohammedan house of prayer. Every mosque has one or more *minarets*, which are towers, from which the *muezzin* (crier) proclaims the hours, and summons the people to prayer.

Mount Sinai, a mountain of Arabia, near the head of the Red Sea, celebrated in Jewish history as the spot where the law was given to Moses.

Mussulman, see *Mohammed*.

Mycenæ, a town of Argolis, the eastern province of Peloponnesus.

Nabis, a cruel and oppressive tyrant of Lacedæmon, who reigned about the year B. C. 200.

Namaz, the sacrifice, or prayers with their ceremonies, which the Mussulmans are obliged to offer and perform five times a day.

Naples, a kingdom embracing the southern part of Italy, with a capital of the same name.

Napoleon Bonaparte, the most extraordinary warrior of modern times, born August 15, 1769, at Ajaccio, in the island of Corsica, and educated in the military schools of France. He rapidly rose from the station of an officer of artillery to that of Emperor of France, the throne of which he ascended in 1804. He was constantly engaged in war, and was victorious in all his battles, till towards the close of his career, when he suffered reverses, and finally, at the battle of Waterloo, June 18, 1815, he was defeated, and gave himself up to the English, by whom he was sent to the Island of St. Helena, where he remained a prisoner, till he died, May 5, 1821. The record of his various battles and other public operations, would alone fill a volume; and of course cannot here be enumerated. His military genius has hardly been rivalled in any age, and it may be truly said, that his victories were not so much the consequence of fortunate accidents, as the results of vast scientific combinations and calculations, executed with boldness and precision. France is indebted to him for a most elaborate and comprehensive code of laws, and for various public works of great national importance and surpassing magnificence. Measures have just been adopted, by the French government, for the removal of his remains to France, to be deposited under a public monument.

Nassau, a duchy of Germany, bordering westerly on the Rhine.

Navarre, formerly an independent kingdom, now a province in the northerly part of Spain, bordering on the southwest corner of France.

Netherlands, also called the *Low Countries*, a kingdom of Europe, bordering on the North Sea, or German Ocean.

Nicholas V., Pope of Rome, from 1447 to 1455.

Nicholas, St., a bishop in Asia Minor, in the reign of Constantine the Great, remarkable for his piety and charity. He died about the year 392. He is regarded by the Russians, particularly, with great veneration.

Numantia, a very noble city of ancient Spain, which, with four thousand men, held out a siege of fourteen years, against forty thousand Romans, but at last yielded, and was destroyed, B. C. 133.

Nuremberg, a city of Bavaria, containing about thirty thousand inhabitants. It was formerly a free and imperial city, twice as populous as at present. It is remarkable for its manufactures.

Oberkirch, a town of Baden, Germany.

Oda, (Turkish, a chamber,) a class or order. The pages, or attendants, of the Sultan of Turkey, are divided into five chambers, or classes, called *odas*.

Oecumenic, general; universal. Certain councils of the Church, in the earlier centuries, were so called, because all the bishops of the Church were invited to them.

Œtean Mountains, or *Mount Œta*, (now *Banina*,) a celebrated chain of mountains between Thessaly and Phocis, Doris, and Ætolia, and running from the straits of Thermopylæ and the Gulf of Malia, (or Lamia, now Gulf of Zeiton,) in a westerly direction, to Mount Pindus. It was upon this mountain, that Hercules burnt himself.

Official, the person to whom the cognizance of causes is committed, by those who have ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

Olympic games, one of the solemn festivals of the Greeks, held every four years, at Olympia, a town of ancient Elis, in the western part of the Morea. Their celebration commenced B. C. 776, from which time, the Olympiads, or periods of four years each, were reckoned. The games consisted in races, on horseback and on foot, in leaping, throwing the quoit, wrestling, and boxing; and musical, poetical, and literary, contests concluded the whole. The honor of a victory at these games was very great.

Opuntian Locrians, see *Locrians*.

Oracle, an answer given, by persons pretending to divine inspiration. The place where these responses were given was also called the oracle. There were several in ancient Greece. They were consulted on all public exigencies, and a reverential regard was paid to the answers obtained.

Orange, Prince of. William the First, Prince of Orange, the founder of Dutch freedom, was born in 1533, and died, by the hand of an assassin, in 1584. He was the leader of the provinces of the Netherlands, in their long and bloody war against the crown of Spain, some scenes of which are described in this Volume. (See pages 287, &c.) He was a man of acute and penetrating understanding, but of a most impenetrable reserve. He was calm and firm in the midst of dangers. He holds a high place in history, as one who was ever more anxious for the welfare of his people than for his own exaltation.

Orb with the cross. A globe, surmounted with a cross, was a badge of empire, and an image of victory, under the Roman emperors, before the establishment of Christianity; and has continued, in various kingdoms and empires, since then, to be one of the badges of royalty, carried in state on public occasions.

Orcades, or *Orkney Isles*, a group of small islands on the northern coast of Scotland.

Oriental, belonging to *the East*, that is, particularly, to Asia. The *Oriental* or *Asiatic style*, both of speaking and writing, is remarkable for its use of figurative expressions.

Orvieto, a city in Italy, about fifty miles north-northwest of Rome.

Ostend, a seaport of the Netherlands. Its situation is described in page 297.

Otranto, a fortified city near the southeastern extremity of Italy.

Ottoman, Turkish. The Turks derive the name of Ottomans, or Osmanli, (the latter being the correct national appellation,) from Osman, or Othman, who became Sultan in the year 1300.

Padua, a very ancient city in the north of Italy, about twenty-two miles west of Venice.

Palæologus, the family name of the last Roman emperors. See *Constantinople.*

Palatinate, a country in Germany, formerly governed by an *elector palatine.* The word palatine is derived from the Latin *palatium*, (a palace,) and means one holding an employment in the king's palace, and hence, one invested with royal privileges.

Palestine, or *the Holy Land*, unquestionably the most memorable and interesting country on the face of the whole earth ; the land most sacred to our recollection, as men and as Christians ; at once the most favored and the most guilty country under heaven ; which was, between two and three thousand years, the only portion of the world where the worship of the true God was maintained ; the scene of nearly all the important events recorded in the Bible ; where the Lord of glory lived, and taught, and suffered ; to which the banished Jew looks, as to his long-lost home ; and the devout Christian, for the completion of prophecies yet to be accomplished ;—this most interesting country is a small canton in the southwest part of Syria, bordering on the Mediterranean Sea. It is also called the Land of Judea, Israel, Canaan, &c. Jerusalem is its capital,—a city which was founded about the year B. C. 2023, and which, having survived the revolutions of more than four thousand years, is still an important city, in our own day.

Pall Mall, the name of a street in London.

Palos, a small town in Spain, where Columbus fitted out his ships, and whence he sailed for the discovery of the New World, in 1492.

Pampeluna, a city of Spain, seventy-eight miles northwest of Zaragoza, with a population of about fourteen thousand. It is strongly fortified.

Panel, (of a wall,) the space between two projections.

Parapet, an elevation of earth, designed to cover the soldiers from the enemy's cannon or small shot.

Party wall, a wall that separates one house from the next.

Passau, a city of Bavaria, on the Danube, formerly capital of a principality of the same name.

Patriarch, the title given, as early as the fifth century, to the Bishops of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. The Patriarch of Rome took the title of Pope ; the other Bishops retained that of Patriarchs. The title is also given, in the Roman Catholic Church, to certain archbishops.

Patrician, one of the nobility, or higher order, of the Roman people ; the lower order being called Plebeians, (*which see.*)

Pausanias, a Spartan general, the nephew of Leonidas. He was victorious at the battle of Platææ, but his arrogance and impetuosity alienated the minds of the allies of Sparta. He subsequently entered into traitorous negotiations with the Persian King, and offered to

betray Greece to him, on condition of receiving the daughter of the Monarch for his wife. His intrigues were discovered, and he was condemned to death by his countrymen. Having taken refuge in a temple of Minerva, and as the sanctity of the place screened him from being taken, the sacred building was blocked up with heaps of stones, and he was starved to death. He died about B. C. 471.

Pavia, a city of Austrian Italy, formerly capital of a duchy of the same name. Its population is about twenty-five thousand. It is remarkable for an ancient and well-endowed university.

Peloponnesus, (now *Morea*, *which see*,) the southern peninsula of Greece. It received its name (*Πελοπου νησος*, *Pelopou nēsos*, the island of Pelops,) from Pelops, an ancient monarch of the country, of the fabulous age. Hence it is called, (page 32,) "Pelops' sea-girt region."

Pelops, see preceding article.

Penelope's web. Penelope was a celebrated princess of Greece, wife of Ulysses, King of Ithaca, and mother of Telemachus. Her husband being absent ten years, at the siege of Troy, and not returning for many years after, it was supposed he was dead, upon which many princes became desirous of marrying her. She told them she could give neither of them an answer, till she had completed a piece of tapestry upon which she was employed. The work was done in a dilatory manner, and what she did in the day, she undid at night, so that the web was never finished. This artifice of Penelope has given rise to the proverb of Penelope's web, applied to labors which can never be ended.

Pericles, one of the most celebrated statesmen of ancient Greece, whose age (sometimes called the *Periclean age*) was the most flourishing period of Grecian arts and sciences. He was a man of vast sagacity and penetration, of commanding eloquence, and great military genius. He adorned the city of Athens with many magnificent public buildings and useful works. His great ambition, during the long time for which he wielded almost supreme authority, was, to place Athens at the head of the Grecian states, both politically and intellectually. He died about B. C. 429, after a lingering sickness; and on his deathbed considered that it was his greatest glory "that he had never caused an Athenian to put on mourning."

Petard, a metallic engine, shaped like a high-crowned hat, and loaded with powder. It is used to break down gates, walls, and barriers, against which it is hung and exploded.

Phædon, a disciple of Socrates; whose name Plato gave to the dialogue in which he relates the last conversation of Socrates with his scholars.

Phidias, a celebrated Athenian sculptor, who flourished about B. C. 444. He superintended the magnificent works with which Pericles adorned the city of Athens, and wrought many of them himself.

Philelphus, (Francis,) a celebrated philologist and voluminous writer, who was born in Italy, in 1398, and died in 1481. He went in his youth to Constantinople, to study Greek. There, his talents recommended him to John Palæologus, who received him into his ser-

vice, and gave him his daughter Theodora in marriage. He returned to Italy in 1427, where he remained for the rest of his life, engaged in literary pursuits.

Phlius, (now *Staphlica*,) a town in the northeastern part of Peloponnesus.

Phocean, belonging to *Phocis*, a country of ancient Greece, bordering, on the south, on the Gulf of Corinth.

Phranza, (George,) one of the Byzantine historians, (see *Chalcocondyles*,) who wrote a chronicle of Byzantine history from 1401 to 1477. (See page 134.)

Piquet, a small company of soldiers.

Platææ, a town of Bœotia, (a region in the easterly part of ancient Greece,) where an important victory was gained by the allied Greeks, under Pausanias and Aristides, over the army of Mardonius, a general of the Persian King Xerxes, B. C. 479.

Plateau, a platform ; an elevated space of level ground.

Plato, see page 28.

Plebeian, belonging to the *plebeians*, or the lower order of the Roman people, the higher order, or nobility, being called *patricians*. The *plebeian tribunes*, or *tribunes of the commons*, were magistrates at Rome, chosen from among the plebeians, and whose office it was to secure the rights of the common people. They were possessed of considerable and important powers.

Pleminius, (Quintus,) an officer under Scipio Africanus, who, being left by the latter in charge of the city of Locri, (B. C. 205,) occasioned great disturbances there by his cruelty and avarice. Charges were in consequence made against Scipio at Rome, for neglect of duty in leaving his province. Pleminius was brought to Rome, and died in prison.

Poggio Bracciolini, an early promoter of literature in Italy, and author of a history of Florence. He was born in 1380, and died in 1459.

Polymnia, or *Polyhymnia*, the name of one of the *Muses*, who were deities of the ancient mythology, nine in number, presiding over various branches of science and art. The different books of the history of Herodotus are each called by the name of one of the Muses.

Ponte Molle, (anciently *Pons Milvius*, the Milvian bridge,) a bridge over the Tiber, at Rome.

Pontiff, a high priest. The Roman Pontiff, or Pope, (see *Patriarch*,) is the head of the Roman Catholic Church, and styles himself the *vicar* (deputy, delegate) *of Christ upon earth*.

Porsena, a King of Etruria, who made war upon the Romans, because they refused to restore Tarquin (see *Brutus*) to his throne. His whole army was opposed at the head of a bridge, by Horatius Cocles, a Roman, while his companions were cutting down the bridge, and destroying the communication with the other shore. When the bridge was destroyed, Cocles leaped into the Tiber, and swam to the opposite side.

Portcullis, an assemblage of several large pieces of wood, joined across one another like a harrow, and each pointed with iron at the bottom. They were formerly hung over the gateways of fortified

places, ready to let down in cases of surprise, when the gates could not be shut.

Porte. The Turkish, or Ottoman, Court is called the *Porte*, the *Ottoman Porte*, or the *Sublime Porte.* The term is derived from a beautiful *gate* (*porte*) of the palace of the Sultan Osman, or Othman. (See *Ottoman.*)

Prætor, the title of a Roman magistrate, on whom devolved the administration of justice, and who was next in rank to the consul. There was at first only one, but the number was afterwards increased, till, in Julius Cæsar's time, there were ten. The *city prætor* tried all causes between citizens ; another *prætor*, those between citizens and foreigners ; the remainder administered justice in the provinces. The *city prætor* took also the place of the consuls, in their absence.

Prague, the capital city of Bohemia, the most northerly of the states of the Austrian empire. It is a very ancient town, has a population of about eighty thousand, and is remarkable for its university.

Prior. Grand Prior was the title of certain of the highest officers of the Order of the Knights of St. John of Malta. Each *language* had its grand prior. See page 160.

Propontis, (now *Sea of Marmora*,) a small inland sea, lying between the Black Sea and the Archipelago.

Protestants. All who reject human authority, in matters of religion, may now be included under this term, which takes its origin from a *protest* made in 1539, by some members of the German empire, favorers of the Reformation, against a resolve of the diet held at Spire, a city of Bavaria, in 1529. This resolve was designed to check the progress of the Reformation, by interdicting all innovations in the Roman Church, and all preaching of a kind hostile to the corruptions of the Church.

Provence, one of the old provinces of France, lying in the southeastern part of the country, on the Mediterranean.

Prytaneium, the building in Athens, where the *prytanes* (those senators who presided in turn) held their meetings, and lived at the public expense during the thirty-five or thirty-six days of their presidency. The liberty of eating in the Prytaneium was one of the highest marks of honor, and was conferred only on those who had done important service to the state.

Pylæ, a Greek word, signifying *gates*, and often applied to narrow straits or passes between mountains, like that at Thermopylæ.

Pylæa, a name by which the council of the Amphictyons was called, because it met near Thermopylæ. The name was sometimes applied to the place of its meetings.

Pylagoræ, deputies to the Amphictyonic council.

Quarrel, a squareheaded arrow, from the Italian, *quadrello*, (a square arrow,) which is derived from *quadra*, (a square,) and that from *quattro*, (four.)

Questor, a Roman magistrate, who managed the public treasury. There were two of these officers in the city, and several others in the different provinces.

Quirites, a name given to the Roman citizens, as is supposed, from

their admitting into union with them the Sabine inhabitants of Cures, who were called Quirites.

Ravelin, a work raised before the curtain, and on the counterscarp, of a fortified place. It consists of two faces, (or sides,) which form a salient (or projecting) angle. (See *Bastion*, and *Counterscarp.*)

Rector, the title given to the head of some universities. The office of Rector is sometimes equivalent to that of President, and sometimes superior to it.

Recusants, (Latin, *recusans*, refusing,) those Roman Catholics, in the reign of Elizabeth, in England, who *refused* to conform to the religious establishment instituted by that Queen.

The *Reformation*, that event in the history of the Christian Church, when Protestants separated from the Church of Rome.

Relics, the remains, or supposed remains, of holy persons, saints, and martyrs, or some object belonging to them, or connected with them. Such relics have always been held in great veneration by Roman Catholics; a superstitious regard has been paid to them, and they have been supposed to possess the power of working miracles.

Religious Orders, associations of persons, bound to lead strict and devotional lives, and to live separate from the world. The males of such associations, are called monks, and the females, nuns; and the vows of temperance, continence, poverty, &c., which they take, and are obliged perpetually to observe, are called *monastic vows.*

Rhodian, an inhabitant of Rhodes, for a notice of which, see page 160.

Romania, a name applied, by the Turks, to the greater part of Turkey in Europe, and by European writers to that part of it lying south of the Balkan mountains.

Rome, which has been called 'the Eternal City,' 'the mistress of the world,' and 'the mother of nations,' is a city of Italy, situated on both sides of the River Tiber, near the Mediterranean. For upwards of two thousand years have the principal occurrences in history been connected with her religious or political policy, her arts and arms. The Pope resides here; but the city now presents but the shadow of her former greatness. As the residence of the popes, and the capital city and central point of the Roman Catholic Church, it has been called the '*sacred city.*'

Rostrum, (properly *rostra*,) an elevated platform, in the forum at Rome, whence the orators used to harangue the people; so called, because it was adorned with the *rostra* (beaks) of the ships, taken by the Romans in a war with the people of Antium. Ships of war had their prows armed with a sharp beak, covered with brass, the object of which was, to disable the ships of the enemy by running into them.

Rotenburg, or *Rottenburg*, a town of Switzerland, in the canton of Lucerne.

Rotterdam, a seaport of the Netherlands, on the River Meuse. It has an excellent harbor, and contains about sixty-five thousand inhabitants.

Rüss, or Reuss, a river of Switzerland, which passes through Lake

Uri, or Lucerne, or the Lake of the Four Cantons, and falls into the Aar.

Rutlin, or *Rütli*, a solitary spot on the Lake of Lucerne, (part of the Lake of the Four Cantons,) in Switzerland.

St. Angelo, Castle of, a strong fortress in Rome, built by the Emperor Adrian, about A. D. 130, for his Mausoleum, and rendered by him the most superb monument ever raised in Rome. About the year 593, Pope Gregory the Great named it the Castle of St. Angelo, from a story that an angel was seen on the top of it, sheathing a sword, during the time of a plague. It communicates, by a covered gallery, with the Vatican, the palace of the Pope.

St. Basil, a bishop of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, born A. D. 326, and died January 1, 379.

St. Jacobi, (or *St. James*,) *day of*, the day on which the apostle St. James is commemorated,—July 25.

St. Pantaleon, (or Pantalæmon,) suffered martyrdom, at Nicomedia, A. D. 305. A church was erected in commemoration of him, in the seventh century, in Constantinople, and others in other places.

St. Romanus. There were several celebrated individuals of this name, one of whom lived about A. D. 258 ; another died February 28, 460 ; and another was made Archbishop of Rouen, in France, A. D. 622, and died October 23, 639.

St. Sophia, Church of, a magnificent cathedral, erected at Constantinople, by Justin and Justinian, Emperors of the East. When the city was captured by the Turks, they perverted the church into a mosque, which is still considered the first in the Mohammedan dominions.

Salamis, (now *Colouri*,) an island on the eastern coast of Greece, separated by a narrow channel from Attica. It is celebrated for a naval victory gained by the Greeks over the Persians, B. C. 480.

Salient angle, a projecting angle.

Saltpetre, (nitrate of potash,) nitre, one of the ingredients in gunpowder, the other two being sulphur and charcoal.

Sappers and Miners, see *Countermine.*

Saracens, (Orientals, or people of the East,) the name adopted by the Arabs, after their settlement in Europe, as the term Arabs, (people of the West,) which denoted their geographical position in Asia, was improper in Europe.

Sardinia, a large island in the Mediterranean Sea, west of Italy. It is separated from Corsica, on the north, by the straits of Bonifacio.

Sarnen, a town of Switzerland, in the district of Unterwalden.

Sarzana, a town and fortress in Italy, forty-five miles east-southeast of Genoa.

Satrapy, the name of a class of provinces, under the Persian empire, which were under governors called satraps.

Scaling ladders, ladders employed for scaling, or mounting, walls, in an attack on a fortified place.

Schaffhausen, a town of Switzerland, capital of the canton of Schaffhausen, on the Rhine, celebrated for its vicinity to the largest waterfalls in Europe, called the Falls of Schaffhausen.

Schleiermacher, (Frederick,) a celebrated German theologian, who

was born in 1768, and died in 1834. His translation of Plato appeared during the later years of his life, and is a work of great value. He was remarkable, as one of the deepest thinkers of his day, and as a man of great energy of character and simplicity of manners, as well as of the most extensive acquirements.

Schwytz, one of the central cantons of Switzerland.

Scipio, the name of a celebrated family in ancient Rome. *Publius Cornelius Scipio*, surnamed *Africanus*, from his having distinguished himself by his conquests in Africa, took an active part, from his youth, in the wars between the Romans and Carthaginians, and obtained signal victories over the latter, in Spain and Africa, vanquishing the formidable Carthaginian general, Hannibal, himself. His brother, *Lucius Cornelius Scipio*, surnamed *Asiaticus*, from having distinguished himself in Asia, accompanied him in his expeditions in Spain and Africa, and afterwards carried on a successful war against Antiochus, King of Syria. For an account of the later events in the lives of these generals, see pages 60–73.

Scupper holes, or *scuppers*, small holes on the side of the deck of a ship, through which water is carried off into the sea.

Selymbria, a town of ancient Thrace, on the Propontis, or Sea of Marmora.

Semiramis, a Queen of Assyria, (an ancient kingdom of Asia,) whose whole history is involved in fable and obscurity, so that the period of her reign cannot be given with certainty. She is supposed to have lived about two thousand years before Christ.

Sempach, a town of Switzerland, on a lake of the same name, in the canton of Lucerne.

Seraglio, (Persian, a large hall or house,) particularly applied to the palace of the Turkish Sultan in Constantinople, the walls of which embrace a circuit of about nine miles, including several mosques, spacious gardens, and buildings capable of accommodating twenty thousand men, though not more than half that number are usually located there.

Servia, one of the northern provinces of European Turkey, bordering northerly on the River Danube.

Serving brothers, or *servitors*, members of the order of Hospitallers, (see page 160,) whose duty it was to take care of the sick, and accompany pilgrims.

Sesterce, (plural, *sesterces*,) a Roman coin, worth about two and a half cents.

The *Seven Towers*, a fortress on the southwest side of the city of Constantinople.

Severn, a river of England, flowing into the Bristol Channel between England and Wales.

Sheds, (in fortification,) slight temporary structures for defence.

Shoulderwork, a breastwork, a defence, of earth or other material, raised to the height of the breast or shoulder.

Simonides, a lyric poet of ancient Greece, who flourished about five hundred years before Christ.

Sobiesky, (John,) King of Poland, and one of the greatest warriors of his age, was born A. D. 1629, and died in 1696. When the Turks

laid siege to Vienna, in 1683, he hastened thither, with a Polish army, and rescued the imperial city, the inhabitants of which gratefully regarded him as their deliverer. He was equally remarkable for the gentleness of his temper, and for his courage.

Socrates, see page 28.

Soliman II., (the Magnificent,) became Sultan of the Turkish empire A. D. 1520. He possessed great abilities, displayed alike in peace and in war, and extended the limits of the Turkish dominion. He had great powers of command, was ambitious, active, and enterprising, and is regarded as the greatest of the Ottoman emperors. He died in 1566. His siege of Rhodes, in 1522, is described in this Volume.

Sophists, the name of a peculiar class of teachers of eloquence, philosophy, and politics, which flourished in Greece in the fifth century before Christ. The name properly signifies wise men, (from the Greek σοφὸς, *sophos*, wise,) and was assumed from motives of learned pride. But as the later sophists perverted the science which they taught, (see page 28,) the title was applied to men who seek to confound the understanding by false reasonings.

Sophocles, an illustrious Greek poet, born B. C. 495. He died at a very advanced age. His tragedies are written in a dignified and elevated style, with great elegance of versification and purity of language.

Spalatin, a friend of Luther, and the secretary of the Elector Frederick of Saxony.

Spartans, see *Lacedæmonians*.

Spinola, (Ambrose, Marquis of,) one of the greatest generals of his age, who was born at Genoa, in 1569, and died in 1630. He joined the Spanish forces in the Netherlands, distinguished himself at the siege of Ostend, (see pages 301, &c.,) and was afterwards appointed general-in-chief of all the Spanish troops in that country.

Stanhope, (James, Earl of,) was born in 1673, and died in 1721. After distinguishing himself in military affairs, he became a minister of state, on the accession of George the First to the throne of England, A. D. 1714.

Strada coperta, (Italian,) a covered way. See *Counterscarp*.

Styria, a province of the Austrian empire, on the west of Hungary.

Sultan, an Arabic word, signifying *mighty*, the title of the Turkish emperors.

Sursee, a town of the canton of Lucerne, in Switzerland, on the Lake of Sempach.

Susa, a celebrated city in Asia, the capital of the ancient Persian empire, situated about one hundred and fifty miles north of the head of the Gulf of Persia.

Sylvius Æneas, of the Italian family of Piccolomini, became Pope in 1458, under the title of Pius II. He was a learned man, and author of some historical works.

Syphax, a king of the Masæsylians, (an African tribe, living near the Mediterranean,) who forsook the alliance of the Romans, to unite himself with the Carthaginians, but was defeated and made prisoner by Scipio. He died B. C. 201.

Syracuse, in the southeast part of Sicily, anciently the chief city of the island, when it contained three hundred thousand inhabitants. At present, it numbers about fifteen thousand.

Talisman, (Arabic, figure,) any figure or object, natural or artificial, prepared with certain magical ceremonies, and supposed to be of sovereign power in averting danger or calamity.

Taurus, a celebrated chain of mountains, in the eastern part of Asiatic Turkey.

Taylor, (Thomas,) the translator of Plato, was born in London, A. D. 1758. Making himself a scholar, in spite of every obstacle, struggling with poverty, ill treatment, and ill health, with great perseverance and little patronage, he devoted himself to letters, and made translations of several of the Greek philosophers.

Tegeatæ, inhabitants of Tegea, (now Moklia,) a town of Arcadia, in the Peloponnesus, Greece.

Templars, a celebrated order of knights, established A. D. 1119, for the protection of the pilgrims on the roads in Palestine, and afterwards devoted to the defence of the Holy Sepulchre (see *Jerusalem*) against the Saracens. The order became very powerful and wealthy, but drew upon itself suspicion and odium, and was abolished early in the fourteenth century, with many circumstances of aggravated oppression and cruelty towards its members.

Tergowe, another name for *Gouda*, *which see.*

Teutonic, Germanic, belonging to Germany.

Thebans, inhabitants of Thebes, a celebrated city of ancient Greece, the capital of Bœotia, a region northwest of Attica.

Thermopylæ, a narrow pass, leading from Thessaly into Locris and Phocis, between a large ridge of mountains on the west, and the sea; so called from *therma*, warm springs, and *pylæ*, (*which see*,) because there were warm springs near it. It was five or six miles long, but only one hundred or one hundred and twenty feet wide, and in some places only twenty-five feet. The great event which has made the name of Thermopylæ immortal, is described in the first extract in this Volume.

Theseus, a celebrated hero of the fabulous ages, and King of Athens. The Athenians, having been defeated in a war with Minos, King of Crete, were obliged to send him a yearly tribute of seven boys, and as many girls, as the price of peace. These youths and maidens, according to the fable, were to be devoured by a monster, called the *Minotaur*, half man and half bull. Theseus went to Crete as one of the seven, destroyed the monster, and delivered his country from the tribute. Theseus lived about B. C. 1200 or 1300.

Thespians, inhabitants of *Thespia*, a town of ancient Greece, in Bœotia.

Thessaly, the northern part of ancient Greece, now forming the southeastern part of European Turkey.

Thucydides, the greatest of the Greek historians, born at Athens, B. C. 470. His history of the war between the Athenians and Peloponnesians was written in banishment. He is the earliest historian who wrote in a truly philosophical spirit, searching out the causes of events, and the springs of actions, and raised history to its true dignity. He lived to the age of seventy or eighty years.

Tiara, originally, a cap or high turban, worn by the Persian kings. The Pope's tiara is a high cap, surrounded by three crowns, rising one above another.

Tiber, a river of Italy, about one hundred and sixty miles in length, flowing into the Mediterranean. It is celebrated as the river on which stood the queen of cities, "eternal" Rome, but is a small and turbid stream.

Tomb of Christ, see *Jerusalem*.

Totila, a King of the Goths in Italy, from 541 to his death in 552. He twice took the city of Rome; and, after the second time, repaired some of the walls and edifices which he had destroyed at first. His valor is said, by the historians of the time, to have been tempered by humanity and justice.

Trachinia, a small country in the northeastern part of Greece, on the Maliac Gulf, or Gulf of Zeiton.

Traverse, a work of fortification thrown up *across* a plain or street.

Treves, a city of Prussia, on the Moselle, near France.

Tribunes, see *Plebeian*.

Tribunitian, of, or belonging to, the tribunes.

Tudela, a town of Spain, on the Ebro. At this place, a battle was fought, in November, 1808, between the Spaniards under *Castaños*, a distinguished general, and the French; the latter being victorious.

Tunny, a large fish, abundant in the Mediterranean, and forming an extensive branch of commerce there.

Turcomans, a wandering race, whose tribes fill many of the districts of western Asia. They are Mohammedans.

Tuscans, see *Etruria*.

Tyrol, a province of the Austrian empire, lying south of Bavaria and east of Switzerland. It is the most mountainous country in Europe.

United Provinces, the name given to the seven States of Holland, or the Netherlands, which threw off the yoke of Spain, and became independent.

Unterwalden, a canton of Switzerland.

Uri, a canton of Switzerland.

Valerius Antias, see *Antias*.

Valet de chambre, (French, a servant of the chamber,) a body servant; an immediate personal attendant.

Vandals, a tribe from the north of Germany, who made war upon the Romans, from the third to the sixth century. Italy was ravaged by them in the fifth century; Rome was plundered, and works of art despoiled with the most savage fury.

Vatican, a sumptuous palace in Rome, built by several successive popes, before 1600. It contains noble collections of works of art, and a large and valuable library. It is the residence of the Pope, in Winter and Spring; and the word *Vatican* is therefore sometimes used to signify the papal government.

Veii, see *Camillus*.

Venice, a city of Austrian Italy, at the northern extremity of the Adriatic sea. It is built upon a collection of small islands, seventy-two in number, and intersected with numerous canals, which supply

entirely all the purposes of streets ; boats (called gondolas) being used in place of carriages or wagons.

Vicar of Christ, see *Pope.*

Vienna, the capital city of Austria, containing about three hundred thousand inhabitants.

The *Virgin*, the title particularly applied to the Virgin Mary, the mother of Jesus Christ.

Vizier, a title of honor with the Turks, belonging to all the highest *pachas*, (see *Bashaw.*) The six members of the council of state are also called viziers. The *grand vizier* is the prime minister and representative of the Sultan, and rules with absolute power in his name.

Vogt, see *Bailiff.*

Walachia, a province tributary to Turkey, lying on the north bank of the Danube.

Walloons, the inhabitants of the district situated between the rivers Scheldt and Lys, included partly in Belgium and partly in France. The Walloons formerly furnished some of the most effective of the Spanish troops.

Wiclif, or *Wicklif*, (John,) was born in Yorkshire, England, about the year 1324. Being a bold thinker in religious matters, he took a prominent stand against the encroachments and corruptions of the Pope and Roman Catholic clergy, and endeavored to restore the apostolical simplicity and purity of the primitive Christian Church. He was a man of great learning, and an ardent Reformer. He disavowed the spiritual supremacy of the Pope, and considered the confession of sins to a priest, when sincerely repented of, as useless. Among his other numerous writings, he finished a translation of the Sacred Scriptures. He died of a paralytic attack, in 1384.

Wolsey, (Thomas,) *Cardinal*, an eminent minister of state under Henry the Eighth of England, was born in 1471. He was a favorite with that Monarch, and dignities and offices were profusely heaped upon him. His natural pride and ostentation caused him to display great state and magnificence, though he also manifested great munificence for the advancement of learning. He fell, however, under the displeasure of his master, was deposed from his dignities, and died at the age of sixty years.

Worms, an ancient city of Germany, near the Rhine, containing about six thousand inhabitants. It derives an historic interest from having been frequently the seat of the diet of the empire ; and the town-house is still to be seen, in which Luther appeared in 1521, as mentioned in this Volume.

Xenophon, a celebrated historian and general of Athens, who flourished about the year B. C. 400. He was a pupil of Socrates, and we are indebted to him for much light upon the philosophy of his master.

Xerxes, King of Persia, famous for his unsuccessful attempt to conquer Greece, (see pages 9, &c.) He began to reign B. C. 485, and was assassinated in the twenty-first year of his reign.

Yare, ready, eager, brisk.

Yoke, (in ancient military affairs,) a frame formed of two upright spears and one placed across, under which vanquished enemies were made to pass, without arms, and also without their upper garments, as a token of submission.

Zug, a mountainous canton of Switzerland, with a capital town of the same name.

Zurich, a city in the north part of Switzerland, capital of a canton of the same name, and situated at the northern extremity of the beautiful Lake of Zurich. It is remarkable for the magnificent mountain scenery of the interior and southern districts.

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